FBIS DAILY REPORT

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 248

28 December 1981

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

- BTA Observer Comments on Reagan Christmas Speech [Drumev] C 1
  - Sofia Radio C 1
- Reagan Statements on Poland, USSR Examined C 2
  - Newspaper Comment [RABOTNICHESKO DELO, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] C 2
  - Anti-Soviet, Anti-Polish Stand [RABOTNICHESKO DELO, NARODNA ARMIYA] C 2
  - NARODNA ARMIYA Commentary [Vladkov, 24 Dec] C 3
- Nationwide Campaign for Aid to Poland Underway C 4
  - Okrugs Prepare Parcels C 4
  - Spontaneous Solidarity C 4
- Bulgaria, SFRY Approve Economic Cooperation Pact C 4
- Leaders Greet Zhivkov on Return From Moscow [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Dec] C 5
- Filipov, Soviet Delegation Discuss Cooperation C 5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Western, U.S. Reaction to Poland Viewed, Scored D 1
  - Western Response to Reagan D 1
  - 'Proclamation of Hostility' D 2
  - Haig Statement Attacked D 2
  - Reagan Opinions 'Flip-Flop' [Zagar in Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Dec] D 3
  - Halting U.S. Aid 'Blackmail' [Porybny in RUDE PRAVO 16 Dec] D 4
  - U.S. Accelerates 'Pressure' [Rovensky in RUDE PRAVO 16 Dec] D 4
  - West's Attitude Summed Up [Rusko in Bratislava PRAVDA 16 Dec] D 5
  - PCI's Stand Criticized [Loerincz in Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Dec] D 6
- Recent Events in Poland Reported, Analyzed D 7
  - 'Provocations' in Mines [Bratislava PRAVDA 23 Dec] D 7
  - Poland's Urban Gives Views [Bratislava PRAVDA 23 Dec] D 9
  - Interned Solidarity Officials [Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Dec] D 10
  - CPCZ Seminar on Crisis Cause [Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Dec] D 11
- Ministry Declaration on Golan Heights Annexation [Bratislava PRAVDA 23 Dec] D 11
- Husak 19 Dec Return From Moscow Reported D 12
- CPCZ's Message on Brezhnev's 75th Birthday [RUDE PRAVO 19 Dec] D 13
- Further on Anti-CSSR Emigre Activity, Recordings D 14
- Charter 77 Spokesman Released in Prague 21 Dec [AFP] D 19
- Kapek Meets With IUS Representatives in Prague D 20
- Trade Minister Urban Visits Hungary 20 Dec D 20
- Miners To Continue Working on Christmas [MLADA FRONTA 22 Dec] D 20

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Reagan's 23 Dec Address 'Steps Up Interference' E 1
- Poland Daily Situation Reported, Analyzed E 1
  - Western View Criticized E 1
  - NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Summarized E 2
- Media Reportage on Various Aid Efforts E 4
  - Convoys Depart 23 Dec E 4
  - NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Aid E 5
  - Further on Aid E 5
  - Army Aid 24 Dec E 6
  - Additional Convoys 27 Dec E 6
- USSR To Reduce Crude Oil Deliveries in 82 [DPA] E 6

HUNGARY

- Developments in Poland Reported, Analyzed F 1
  - Gornicki on Martial Law F 1
  - Martial Law 'Burdens' F 2
  - Situation 'Normalizing' F 3
- U.S. Response to Polish Events Criticized F 3
  - Reagan 'Isolated' F 3
  - Haig Statement Reported F 4
- Losonczi, Kadar Observe Brezhnev Birthday F 4
  - Greetings Message F 4
    [NEPSZABADSAG 19 Dec]
  - Kadar Speech Reported F 5
- Havasi Receives Visiting CPSU Delegation F 5
- Nemeth Returns From SFRY Official Visit 19 Dec F 5

POLAND

- Military Council Meeting 24 December Reported G 1
- Jaruzelski Christmas Eve Address to Nation G 1
- Jaruzelski Receives Poggi, Letter From Pope G 3
- Official Notes Reaction to Martial Law G 3
- Another Envoy Defects; Property Confiscated G 4
  - Ambassador to Japan Defects G 4
  - Property in Warsaw Confiscated G 4
- Military Council Member Visits Soldiers 24 Dec G 4
- Christmas Messages of Glemp, Pope Given G 5
  - Glemp Message at 24 Dec Mass G 5
  - Pope Expresses 'Hope' G 6
- Reportage on Ziemowit, Piast Coal Mines G 7
  - 150 in Ziemowit, 900 in Piast G 7
  - 'A Few' Remain Underground G 7
  - 'Probably All' Left Ziemowit G 8
  - All Ziemowit Miners Out G 8
  - Ziemowit Mine Update 25 Dec G 9
  - 1,276 Detained in Piast Mine G 9
  - Katowice Situation 25 Dec G 9
  - Silesian Atmosphere Serious G 10
  - 1,166 Underground at Piast G 10
  - Piast Miners Interviewed G 11
  - Katowice Steelworks Working G 12
  - 1,090 Still Down Piast Mine G 12
- Reportage on Situation in Warsaw, Elsewhere G 12
  - Holidays Peaceful in Regions G 13
  - Working of Industry G 13
- Warsaw Party Executive Meets on Situation, Tasks G 14

- Various Party Figures Interviewed by Media G 14
  - Moczar Interview G 14
  - Orzechowski Interview G 15
    [ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 21 Dec]
  - Mokrzyszczak Interview G 19
    [TRYBUNA LUDU 15 Dec]
- Former Kozalin Officials Expelled From PZPR G 21
- Courts Issue Sentences, Receive Indictment Acts G 21
- Commentaries Condemn Reagan's Decisions G 22
  - PAP Commentary G 22
  - Papers Condemn Reagan Measures G 23
  - Comments on Envoys' Defections G 23
- AFP Reports on Walesa Role in Current Crisis G 24
- Papal Envoy on Walesa, Chance for Negotiations [AFP] G 25
- Solidarity Continues To Issue Bulletins [AFP] G 25
- Jaruzelski Adviser on TU Agreements, Martial Law [DPA] G 26
  - Detainees To Be Released Soon [AFP] G 26
- AFP: Jaruzelski Says Siege To Continue G 26
- DAILY TELEGRAPH on Anti-Semitic Propaganda G 28

ROMANIA

- SCINTEIA Regrets Economic Boycott of Poland H 1
  [26 Dec]
- Media Reportage on 23 December GNA Session H 3
  - Ceausescu in Attendance H 3
  - Dascalescu Report H 3
  - Gigea Report H 5
  - GNA Session Concludes H 6
- Bonus System for Additional State Deliveries H 7
  [Fierbinteanu in SCINTEIA 17 Dec]
- Increased Production Measures for Farms in Hills H 8
- Burtica Receives Cuban Trade Official 23 Dec H 8

YUGOSLAVIA

- Latest Reportage on Martial Law in Poland I 1
  - 'New Restrictions' I 1
    [BORBA 20 Dec]
  - Plea for Normalization I 2
  - Jaruzelski-Poggi Talks I 3
- Bajra Holds Talks With Polish Ambassador I 3
  [BORBA 23 Dec]
- Grlickov Addresses Assembly Delegates on Poland I 3
- Unions Express Concern About Polish Situation I 3
  - 'Danger of Outside Interference' I 3
  - Statement Issued I 4
- Sundic Comments on Brezhnev Interview, Poland I 4
- Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan: 'Failure' I 5
  - Reagan Remarks Noted I 6
- Dragosavac Sends Birthday Greetings to Brezhnev I 6
  [POLITIKA 19 Dec]
- More on Death of Albania's Mehmet Shehu I 6
  - NIN Cited I 6
  - Suicide Followed AWP Plenum I 7
- Major Talks With BCP Delegation 25 Dec I 7
  - Cooperation Discussed I 7
  - Delegation Departs 26 Dec I 8
- Standing Joint Committees With Bulgaria Meet I 8
  - Scientific, Technical Cooperation I 8
  - Border Traffic Commission I 8
- MSZMP's Nemeth Concludes Visit 19 Dec I 8
  [BORBA 20 Dec]

Trade Protocol for 1982 Signed With Romania I 8
Data on Commodity Exchange With PRC Reported I 9
Milos Minic Discusses International Topics I 9
Reportage on LCY Central Committee Session I 11
Kosovo Communes Discuss 'Pressures on Citizens' I 18
Disruptive Incidents Reported in Kosovo [BORBA 13 Dec] I 18
Commentary on Violence [POLITIKA 19 Dec] I 19
Kosovo Introduces Electricity Reduction Measures [BORBA 12 Dec] I 20
Economic Growth Predicted for Pristina I 20

BTA OBSERVER COMMENTS ON REAGAN CHRISTMAS SPEECH

AU251629 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 25 Dec 81

[BTA observer Krassimir Drumev commentary: "The Real Goal"]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Dec -- The art of sidetracking the red-hot issues! The Christmas address of President Reagan to the nation was not the only speech convincing us that he is skillful in this 'art'. The question, however, is whether this is the art in which the head of the most powerful Western state should be skillful in? And all this in a time when the problem of problems - the halting of the arms race - has acquired exceptionally sharp edge, when a further deterioration of the international situation is rife with real hazards for the existence of mankind.

There wasn't a single word on this and on other important questions in President Reagan's address - questions arousing the concern and anxiety both of the American society and of the peoples of the world. If we compare the speech of the U.S. President with the recent interview of Mr Leonid Brezhnev for America's "NBC", we shall immediately see the diametrically opposed approach of the two statesmen. While the Soviet leader referred to the core of the international problems and expressed constructive stands on many vital issues of our time, the American President was after a propaganda effect. Diverting the attention of the American citizens from the problems concerning and touching them in earnest, President Reagan tried to divert their attention from the impotence of his administration to tackle the painful problems of the American society as well.

Moreover, the American President was seeking a propaganda effect which only further complicated the international relations, because, allegedly in the name of human rights, President Reagan has been interfering rudely in the internal affairs of sovereign Poland. He not only attacked ferociously the measures undertaken by the Military Council of Poland to the effect of restoring the social discipline in the Polish People's Republic, but has tried through economic pressure to reverse the political developments in that country to their course before December 13, when havoc reigned there and the threat of a national catastrophe was very real.

It deserves to be pointed out, however, that despite President Reagan's calls to his NATO allies to undertake concrete sanctions against Poland, Western Europe does not seem eager to follow suit. The political common sense warns that any interference in the internal affairs of a state can be rife with extremely unpleasant international consequences and consequences for the East-West relations. This obviously is President Reagan's real goal - to justify the militarist course of the U.S. administration.

Sofia Radio

AU241355 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] The Christmas message to the American people read this morning by U.S. President Reagan showed that the U.S. administration's mask of neutrality has been completely and finally removed. Reagan only quickly touched on the problems pertaining to the U.S. economy, about which he spoke only in future terms. His entire delivery, however, was focused against socialist Poland. It is obvious that he was quite affected by the normalization of the situation in Poland and (?did not expect) that the scenario of destabilization which the U.S. special services had prepared long ago would utterly fail. That is why Reagan directed threats and requests to the Polish Government which actually represent gross interference in the domestic affairs of Poland. He did not restrict himself to some threats alone, but stated in the message that the United States will apply economic measures against Poland, measures that are actually directed against the Polish people themselves.

The President said that the deliveries of agricultural goods, the credits included in the funds of the import-export bank and the agreement connected with the fishing rights of Polish ships in [words indistinct] will be canceled. He insistently called on his Western allies to also impose restrictions in their exports to Poland. He also attacked the Soviet Union in an unrestrained and unjustified manner, emphasizing that he intends to apply political and economic (?pressure) against it. The President also threatened all the rest of the countries and organizations that are rendering assistance to Poland's leadership during the present state of affairs there.

This action, unprecedented in its firmness, fully illuminates the most significant issue connected with the developments in Poland [words indistinct] of this country to reach the climax of chaos so that he could take advantage of the sufferings and (?misery) of the Polish people.

REAGAN STATEMENTS ON POLAND, USSR VIEWED

Newspaper Comments

LD250924 Sofia BTA in English 0826 GMT 25 Dec 81

["Rude Interference" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Dec (BTA) -- According to Mr Georgi Todorchev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in New York, the tone and content of President Reagan's latest message corroborate the conclusion that the United States remains the world launching grounds for export of counterrevolution, that Washington continues to play its role of a world policeman and does not cease its attempts at heightening international tension, at internationalizing internal problems and conflicts in the name of a crusade against socialism.

ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME stresses in an editorial commentary that a state famous for its exploitation, racism and unemployment, for its support to dictatorships and oppressive regimes is again claiming the role of a mentor and adviser in international relations.

The paper stresses that the 'crocidile tears' of the raging anti-Polish, antisocialist and anti-Soviet campaign shed at Potomac have been provoked by the fact that the measures taken in compliance with the Polish Constitution have frustrated the plans of counterrevolution and the threat of a civil war. Those circles in the United States and NATO who were rubbing in satisfaction their hands at the difficulties of Poland now fail to hide their disappointment. They have unmasked themselves as Poland's 'well-wishers' once again.

ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME states in its commentary that the noisy discrimination measures against Poland, the rude hints that under the present conditions Washington 'will not maintain normal relations with Moscow and Warsaw' are but a manifestation of an anachronistic and irrealistic course encumbering the present Republican administration from the start.

Anti-Soviet, Anti-Polish Stand

LD260952 Sofia BTA in English 0809 GMT 26 Dec 81

["Roots of Anti-Polish Hysterics" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 26 Dec (BTA) -- In a commentary (?under) the above headline, RABOTNICHESKO DELO brands the incredibly hysterical and unrestrained campaign against the Soviet Union and Poland, against the socialist countries, which has been launched by the USA over the last two weeks, as a "peculiar peak of the line of confrontation and tension." The daily emphasizes that the U.S. reaction in connection with the proclamation of martial law in Poland shows "helplessness and lack of responsibility."

The newspaper of the CC of the BCP labels the involvement of high-ranking U.S. statesmen led by that country's president in the fussy noise of the reactionary propaganda as a "direct interference in the affairs of a sovereign socialist state." Further on the commentary reads that the so-called Christmas address of President Reagan is a document indicative of the policy of diktat and threats pursued by the USA and that the threats in it against Poland and the Soviet Union are "insolence intolerable for a head of state."

Prompted by the same event NARODNA ARMIYA reads that the way of expressing and the content of the message confirm the opinion that the USA still remains the main world place of arms for export of counter-revolution. The daily adds: "Reagan's address has shown once again the correctness of the view that Washington continues to unfold its role of a world gendarme, that the USA is a source of never-ending campaigns for escalating international tension, for internationalizing internal problems and conflicts in the name of a crusade against the world of socialism."

NARODNA ARMIYA Commentary

AU240945 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 24 Dec 81

["Don't Reach Out Your Hand for Poland!" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Dec (BTA) -- Today under this headline NARODNA ARMIYA carries Mr Ivan Vladkov's commentary in which an analysis is made of the reaction of the Western bourgeois propaganda to the latest events in Poland after the imposing of the martial law.

The author notes that under the motto of "no foreign interference in Poland" - one of the universally accepted principles in the international relations -- in the bourgeois propaganda and the imperialist intelligence centres are being carring out an anticommunist and anti-Soviet activity for months now.

"And all came to be as a number of Western figures have been "advising" in the course of 16 months -- "no foreign interference in Poland!", NARODNA ARMIYA underlines. The Military Council of National Salvation has efficiently isolated the counterrevolutionary forces and have created conditions for their country to come out of the chaos and the dead point of the economic ruin."

The author writes that the precise, stunning and timely blow on the counterrevolution delivered by the Polish Army and the security force, who have been educated in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, has deprived the imperialism of the "Polish card" on which the imperialist forces have staked for making a breach in the socialist community, for aggravating the international situation, for finally liquidating detente. The decisive measures of the Military Council raised panic among the non far-seeing politicians and outstanding military men, the ordinary profiteers and the corrupt parliamentarists -- among all in the West who expected to imbue the banner of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism with Polish blood, the newspaper writes.

The author describes President Reagan's latest statements as "a gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, an appeal to the extremist forces for opposing the authorities and for breaking out into excesses."

In the commentary emphasis is laid on the fact that the aim of Mr Reagan's appeals is for the internal crisis in Poland to be converted into an international one with a view to justifying the U.S. striving after exacerbating the international situation. The author adds that the USA are seeking to involve also their Western European allies in the gross and unceremonious interference in Poland's internal affairs.

"Socialist Poland has loyal friends and allies who are not giving advice but are rendering her a concrete assistance, who are not interfering with her internal affairs but are giving her a fraternal and selfless support." Mr Vladkov underlines.

NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR AID TO POLAND UNDERWAY

AU251955 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 25 Dec (BTA) -- A nation-wide initiative for sending presents to the Polish workers and children has sprang up throughout whole Bulgaria.

Scores of lorries with goods and presents will start from Sofia on Sunday. The parcels are already being prepared at the enterprises in the capital, in living quarters and schools. The Bulgarian families are adding postcards with New Year's greetings to the Polish families. A great number of housewives are preparing the cakes themselves. A large part of the parcels are being prepared by the intelligentsia and predominantly by the university students. The children have also taken part in the prepartions by buying toys and school aids.

The employees of the Sofia enterprises are preparing parcels for the workers' canteens of kindred works. The transport workers in the capital who will ensure the transportation of the deliveries to Poland have already packed the presents for their colleagues in fraternal Poland.

Gifts for Poland -- foods, clothes, toys, wine and cigarettes -- are being prepared in every Bulgarian town and in every Bulgarian village.

Okrugs Prepare Parcels

AU261606 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The working people in Veliko Turnovo Orkug have prepared some 9,000 parcels for the friends of the sister city in Krakow Voivodship as a New Years present and expression of solidarity with them. The working collectives of Gorna Oryakhovitsa prepared 1,600 parcels, and of Zlataritsa, more than 800 parcels. The students and professors of Veliko Turnovo University prepared more than 100 parcels and the collective of the combine for radio-technical equipment, 300 parcels. The okrug students alone have preapred some 1,800 parcels for the children of Krakow and the voivodship.

Spontaneous Solidarity

AU261752 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The working people and youths in the towns and villages of the 10 conurbation systems in Ruse Okrug have spontaneously expressed their fraternal international solidarity with the working people of the (?Wroclaw) sister voivodship in Poland. The collective of many enterprises and branches of the okrug economy, educational establishments and hundreds of citizens have so far prepared more than 5,500 parcels of food, New Years presents and greetings letters to the citizens, youths and children of (?Wroclaw) Voivodship with wishes for a peaceful and happy New Year as well as for good health and higher labor successes and the prosperity of socialist Poland.

BULGARIA, SFRY APPROVE ECONOMIC COOPERTION PACT

AU271922 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Dec (BTA) -- The 24th session of the Joint Bulgaro-Yugoslav Techno-Scientific Cooperation Commission was held here today.

A review was made of the fulfillment of the decisions taken at the previous session. It was found that there existed real possibilities for further developing and deepening the two countries' techno-scientific relations.

A programme was approved for the techno-scientific cooperation of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the 1981-1985 period in the agriculture, the food and chemical industries, mechanical engineering electronics, power generation and metallurgy.

LEADERS GREET ZHIVKOV ON RETURN FROM MOSCOW

AU221101 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Dec 81 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, returned from the Soviet Union yesterday where he attended celebrations on the occasion of the 75th birthday of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Our first party and state leader was cordially welcomed at Sofia airport by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov; as well as by Georgi Dzhagarov and Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairmen of the State Council; Grigor Stoichkov and Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; secretaries of the permanent board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; heads of BCP Central Committee departments, and members of the government.

Nikita Tolubeyev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in Bulgaria, was also among those present at the airport.

FILIPOV, SOVIET DELEGATION DISCUSS COOPERATION

AU252105 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received the visiting Soviet delegation led by Nikolay Talyzin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet side of the Bulgarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. It was noted with pleasure that the economic cooperation between the two countries continued to develop dynamically during the first year of the 5-year plan. Also discussed were a number of questions connected with the fulfillment of the Bulgarian-Soviet documents that have been signed on coordination of plans, exchange of goods and specialization and production-sharing in 1982. Views on problems of cooperation within the CEMA framework and of its further perfection were reviewed. Comrade Andrey Lukanov also attended the talks.

WESTERN, U.S. REACTION TO POLAND VIEWED, SCORED

Western Response to Reagan

LD271156 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 27 Dec 81

["Review of the Week" by editor Petr Nemec]

[Excerpts] The holiday associated by tradition with calmness and peace is ending.

The influential U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT published an interview with U.S. President Ronald Reagan. It showed that the U.S. intends to continue setting preconditions and that the (?often) incomprehensible obstacle in the progress of disarmament negotiations -- denial of the condition of equal security -- has been the basic stand of U.S. delegations at international negotiations this year; and it seems it will be so next year also.

Soon after that interview came the television address by President Reagan, his so-called Christmas message. He spoke, as required by a tradition, to the citizens of the country he leads. He was to explain some phenomena which so unfavorably affect lives of millions of Americans: the growth of unemployment to a record high, the very heavy burdens on socially weaker groups of the population who have been stripped of all benefits, from social security to student grants, for the sake of new armament programs. Instead, Ronald Reagan spoke about a faraway country to which he factually declared enmity. The U.S. President said the White House will try to enforce these measures also in the policy of the allied governments. It is not only Poland which is to be affected; they should also affect the USSR which, in the view of the U.S. administration, interferes in the internal affairs of Poland.

Ronald Reagan's standpoint was immediately supported by General Haig who said the U.S. administration is preparing a number of measures against the Polish Government. Who then interferes in the affairs of a sovereign state?

Poland certainly is living through a very difficult period as its highest representative, Wojciech Jaruzelski, confirmed in his Christmas address. The state of emergency in the country, he said, brings with it a number of measures which affect every citizen's life. It cannot, however, be overlooked that the firm measures adopted in accordance with the Constitution and the law contributed to the first indications of consolidation of the economy and calmed the atmosphere which was tense to the point of irrational explosion. And this atmosphere of work, effort and first hopes was penetrated by the message of the U.S. President which -- as PAP said -- was a gesture of hostility and showed clearly that the United States does not want calm in Poland. Poles had an opportunity to taste the consequences of the so-called Polish experiment, as the development in the Polish People's Republic from August 1980 was described in the West. Overseas hopes connected with the experiment were expressed in October of this year by an influential U.S. daily, the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. It said: The West has a vital interest in the Polish experiment. Should it succeed it would mean a geopolitical gain for the West.

The experiment in disruption and conflict was interrupted by the Polish Government and, as the reaction of the population shows, also by the great majority of the citizens. Geopolitical gains will not materialize -- hence the White House hostile reaction. So far, its action has not been accepted favorably by the majority of its allies; Canada refused to follow the U.S. example, as did the FRG, Belgium and a number of other states. It cannot, however, be overlooked that there are forces in these countries which would like to exploit developments in Poland for the deterioriation of the international situation. Such forces are represented by Helmut Kohl, leader of the clerical opposition in the FRG parliament, who asked the federal government to join the U.S. measures and annul its economic and other treaties with Poland and the USSR.

Some voices called for halting the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva on medium-range missiles. FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt left for a Christmas vacation in the United States, but he is to meet President Reagan in Washington on 5 January. Commentators believe that at the meeting the U.S. President will try to push the FRG chancellor to follow his example.

'Proclamation of Hostility'

LD241908 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Unattributed editorial comment on President Reagan's Christmas message]

[Text] The measures announced by the U.S. President against the Polish People's Republic are in effect tantamount to a proclamation of hostility. If it were up to Reagan, the Polish people would be left starving and a climate of uncertainty and despair would spread over their country. Ronald Reagan is doing his utmost to bring this about and is pressing the allied governments to follow him in his anti-Polish measures.

It was not fortuitous that this message was timed to coincide with a period during which the first indications that the situation in Poland is improving were manifested and during which the decline in output in the most important branches of the national economy was successfully arrested. During this same period it became possible to relay certain special measures less than 2 weeks after the proclamation of the state of emergency. In fact, herein lie the roots of hatred and rage.

Where are the proclamations about the inadmissibility of interfering in the internal affairs of Poland? Ronald Reagan by his speech confirmed that Washington had not been indifferent to the fate of Poland at the time when the process of disintegration had already been deepening. After all, from where had the money destined for various subversive organizations been coming? Who had been a frequent visitor to U.S. leaders? From where had information and directions aimed at further subverting the state system been coming? It is no secret that they had been coming far too often from quarters close to the White House.

Thus the current anti-Polish measures are in effect a mere logical continuation of previous interference.

As it is customary, they are trying to throw dust into our and other people's eyes. One therefore should not wonder that the message by the U.S. President has paved the way to sheer silliness. You people who in these moments are wishing each other a peaceful and happy Christmas holiday are asked to believe that concentration camps have been built on Czechoslovak territory for Polish trade unionists. Folly? Yes, but nevertheless spread by official channels from Canada.

Indeed, Poland is not the only country which is at issue. Ronald Reagan was supposed to have delivered a Christmas message. He should have been talking above all about the situation in his own country. He should have explained to his own citizens why the number of unemployed has grown to 10 million. He should have explained why he denied the right to strike to his own people, namely to 12,000 air traffic controllers thrown out on the street. Instead, he proclaimed hostility to a distant country on the threshold of festivities which are said to be the festivities of calm, human understanding and peace.

Haig Statement Attacked

LD252353 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Following President Reagan, Alexander Haig also delivered a statement on U.S. television bearing witness to the U.S. Government's determination to continue its attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs.

He arrogantly declared that the United States has enough means to step up the pressure on Poland so that, in his words, it might abstain from any radical actions against Solidarity members. Haig, however, completely ignored the fact that the Polish Government has adopted measures for the renewal of order in the country in accordance with the Constitution and the laws and that, on the contrary, harsh interference by the United States in Polish internal affairs strictly contracicts international law.

Reagan Opinions 'Flip-Flop'

AU231146 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Dec 81 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar article in column "On the Margin"; "Somersaults in Reagan's Opinions"]

[Text] Last week, after the imposition of the state of emergency, U.S. President Reagan expressed his views on the situation in Poland. The Western news agencies depicted his statement as the "strongest." By this they certainly meant strong words which, by the way, R. Reagan likes to use. However, strong words are effective only when they are substantiated and of iron logic. The statement, however, lacked both. It was rather a rhetorical somersault, a somersault of opinion, a demagogic "flip-flop."

Not so long ago, when Poland was tossing about in the grip of chaos and anarchy, when its economy was rushing headlong for destruction, voices from Washington were saying that Poland should resolve its problems itself. The Polish Government was striving to do precisely that, but it was impossible to reach an agreement with the "Solidarity" leadership. Moreover, "Solidarity" was in opposition on principle in order to make any settlement impossible. At that time, R. Reagan was not calling on the counterrevolutionary representatives of "Solidarity" to respect democratic principles in connection with solving the problems. Now, when the imposition of the state of emergency was the only possibility of putting an end to the subversive and antinational activity of "Solidarity's" leadership, he accuses the Polish state power of "violating human rights" and espouses "'Solidarity's' legal rights" to disrupt order. If there is interference in Poland's internal affairs, then it comes only from Washington.

The new course of events in Poland has, perhaps, only one fault from the viewpoint of the Reagan administration -- that it does not fit in with Washington's designs, and R. Reagan therefore is indirectly encouraging extremists to excesses which would provoke bloodshed. If Reagan had a genuine respect for the legal rights of trade unions, he could have proved it at the time when American air traffic controllers were pressing for better working conditions. And what did Reagan do then? He fired all the air traffic controllers, hit them with fines and drastic sentences and pulverized their entire trade union. At that time, American democracy, freedom and human rights had to cover their eyes in order not to start crying over their poor position in the United States.

The West is trying to make an event of extraordinary international importance out of the developments of the situation in Poland. As it does behind all phenomena in the world, also in the decision of the Polish leading representatives, Washington sees an action organized by the Soviet Union. Of course, this is a pretext to further worsen the situation not only in Poland but also in the world, a matter which should justify and even give the blessing to Washington's further militarist and hegemonist plans. This, however, is a transparent tactic which the world will not swallow. Not only to world public opinion, but also to Reagan, it must be clear that the imposition of the state of emergency in Poland prevented a coup d'etat which would have driven the country into a civil war. Every reasonable person, even in the West, sighed with relief when he found out that the developments in Poland were in firmer hands. Only those who do not wish the Polish nation well do not like what has happended.

Halting U.S. Aid 'Blackmail'

AU181141 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Dec 81 p 7

[Zdenek Porybny commentary: "They Want To Blackmail"]

[Text] As Charles Percy, chairman of the U.S. Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, announced on Monday, the United States has suspended all "food aid" to Poland. These were not deliveries on which the food supplies of the Polish population depended, but this fact accentuates even more the malevolent and blackmailing character of this step. What changes occurred between last week when the United States and the NATO pact declared that "Poland must solve its problems on its own" and the beginning of this week when Washington suspended all its so-called food aid to Poland?

Nothing except for the fact that the counterrevolutionary forces seeking the liquidation of socialism in the Polish People's Republic encountered resolute resistance. And those Western circles that had been overtly or covertly supporting them are now indignant and disappointed by the collapse of their subversive plans. Those in the White House or in Brussels who only a week ago spoke about the inadmissibility of any interference in internal Polish affairs have now completely changed their tune. After Monday's extraordinary session of the NATO council, NATO Secretary General Luns expressed the hope that the present events would not change the situation in Poland to such a degree as to deprive "Solidarity" of its political influence. In other words, NATO hopes that the situation in Poland may some day still revert to the former state, to the time when "Solidarity" provoked tension and confrontations aimed at changing the entire political system of the Polish People's Republic. And to give weight to the words, the United States immediately suspended shipments of foodstuffs to Poland. Could there be more blatant evidence of interference in internal Polish affairs?

As long as the developments in the Polish People's Republic were favorable for counterrevolutionary forces, the United States had been feigning some sort of "human care" for the welfare of the Polish people. But when Poland embarked on a decisive struggle in the defense of socialism, the "human face" was forgotten, and there remains nothing but gross pressure, interference and blackmail.

U.S. Accelerates 'Pressure'

AU181136 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Dec 81 p 7

[Dusan Rovensky Washington dispatch: "The United States Is Stepping Up Its Pressure"]

[Text] Reporting on the U.S. administration's decision to discontinue $100 million worth of food shipments to Poland, the Tuesday issue of the New York TIMES quoted the words of an official State Department representative to the effect that the United States will make use of any diplomatic and economic pressure on Poland possible. The Washington POST, in turn, wrote that "it is a question whether the West will continue to grant financial credits to Poland."

In other words, should Washington not be satisfied with developments in Poland, those who have been so zealous in presenting themselves as "friends of the Polish people" will do everything to blackmail Poland economically and financially.

Monday night there was a consultation in the White House, chaired by Vice President Bush and attended by Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, CIA chief William Casey and other officials. According to information that leaked to the press, it discussed "instruments available to NATO and the United States," in other words -- possibilities of stepping up pressure on the Polish People's Republic.

On Monday the Washington POST published a commentary that shows the actual aims of the American supporters of "Solidarity": "Solidarity" reportedly has no other option but "to occupy plants and take to the streets." Could there be a clearer call for counterrevolutionary actions than this statement and is this stand not similar to that assumed by American information media in the course of the counterrevolution in Hungary?

The broadcasting time of the inflammatory Voice of America radio station has been doubled. What we are witnessing is thus an escalation of propaganda, a substitution for "Solidarity's" disruptive propaganda that has been thwarted by the Polish Government's energetic steps.

The rightwing leadership of the American AFL-CIO trade union center, which did not spare any resources in its support of "Solidarity," is now organizing "protest meetings." However, what ordinary American unionists think about all this is demonstrated by the fact that in Washington such a meeting was attended by 200 people and in New York by 250 people.... No less is the fiasco suffered by the "protests" organized by Polish emigre associations. In Washington they could gather hardly 100 people for a rally in front of the Polish embassy.

West's Attitude Summed Up

AU171902 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Dec 81 p 7

[Milan Rusko commentary: "Who Is Intervening in Events in the Polish People's Republic? The Falseness of Western Appeals" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] **"PEOPLE DEMAND CONCRETE DEEDS AND NOT BIG WORDS ABOUT THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST STATE. WORDS ARE LOSING VALUE. IT IS NECESSARY TO KEEP THIS IN MIND WHEN MAKING DECISIONS. IN THE WHOLE WORLD THERE IS NO STATE IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BEG THE SOCIETY TO OBSERVE LAWS.** [The observance of the] **LAW HAS TO BE DEMANDED..."**

These are the words of a worker from Bialystock, with which he conveyed at the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum the view of honest Polish working people. At that time, the Polish press noted that the indebtedness [of Poland] to the West exceeds $25 billion; that the Ministry of internal affairs published data about crime for the first 10 months of the current year, which -- compared with the same period [last year] -- rose 250 percent; and that actions by "Solidarity's" extremist elements had intensified, which, in addition to individual violence, violated the state's constitutional principles and jeopardized the bonds of alliance of the Polish People's Republic. A few days earlier in Radom, at the session of the "Solidarity" leadership, its leaders put their cards on the table by launching a series of attacks on the Polish state and political leadership. They rejected the government's offer of a peaceable agreement -- they decided to go over to overt confrontation. Their session in Gdansk that followed immediately afterward confirmed that trend. The counterrevolution was sure of itself...

In the broader context of international relations, the destruction of the Polish national economy and social structures, which lasted almost 1 and 1/2 years, yielded nothing good, and yet the greatest possible measure of content prevailed in the West. Even to laymen it was clear that the enemies of the Polish people were pursuing their own ends to the detriment of the working people. The connection between the reactionary leadership represented by Walesa, Bujak, Gwiazda, Rulewski, Kuron and others, and the espionage centers in the West, the ultrareactionary circles of Polish emigrees and other groups and organizations which financed them and supplied them clearly documented the course embarked upon by the Polish counterrevolution and of its allies which were methodically sterring it.

AS LONG AS EVERYTHING PROCEEDED ACCORDING TO PLAN, THE WEST WAS SATISFIED. NOW THAT THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED, THE MANNER IN WHICH GOVERNMENTS REACT, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF THE NATO MEMBER STATES, HAS ALSO CHANGED; THEY ARE ABSOLUTELY INCAPABLE OF CONCEALING THE CYNICAL HYPOCRISY OF THEIR STANCE.

Even though -- on the basis of reality -- they must admit that the measures carried out in the Polish People's Republic during the night prior to 13 December were absolutely necessary, they are voicing "concern" about the further developments in that socialist country. From Washington, London, Brussels and Rome resound persistent voices demanding that Polish events be not interferred in from the outside, although the entire activity of the Polish counterrevolution leans on external aid coming from the West, from the cities which today manifest such exaggerated concern. As the REUTER news agency said, THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION "IS ATTENTIVELY FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND." IT HAS BEEN DOING SO ATTENTIVELY AND WITH SUCH CONCERN THAT IT DECIDED, AS U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE A. HAIG DECLARED, TO HALT ITS FOOD AID TO THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. The American position is very characteristic and shows on whom the United States was pinning its hopes. However, by doing this the American representatives are not only demonstratively revealing their disappointment over the sudden change of the situation in the Polish People's Republic, but also -- convinced that someone will still listen to their advice -- recommend that the Polish people "resolve their problems through negotiations and compromise between the two interested parties." Washington -- with its measures in practice -- proves that neither in the past nor now does it have the intention of adhering to its own appeal "not to interfere from the outside" in Polish developments.

Some Italian politicians manifest an unconcealed anger over the developments of events. EMILIO COLOMBO, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, has declared that the developments in the Polish People's Republic "hit their hopes hard." In the FRG, it was the WELL-KNOWN ULTRARIGHTWINGER, THE CSU CHAIRMAN FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS who opposed loudest the energetic step of the Polish leadership. IN STRASBOURG, THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL'S PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY ARE USURPING THE RIGHT TO SPEAK IN THE NAME OF THE WHOLE OF EUROPE, who -- according to the AP news agency -- "called on the military and civilian leaders to resolve their problems without outside intervention."

ALSO THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY WHO MET IN LONDON HAVE ALL OF A SUDDEN FELT A "PROFOUND SYMPATHY FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE." EVEN THOUGH THEY SHOULD BE THE FIRST TO KEEP THEIR HANDS AWAY FROM POLAND, THEY HAVE DECLARED THAT REGARDING THIS ISSUE, THEY "WILL REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACTS."

In Brussels recently, NATO agencies assessed some aspects of Western "noninterference." The aggressive character of this pact is well known. And thus it is obvious that when the participants in the recent NATO council session noted that the situation in Poland had suddenly reversed itself against their plans, they were not too happy. In accordance with their habits, they would not let go without grossly interfering in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, although they too have their mouths full of slogans about Polish sovereignty.

The Polish public has already been demanding measures for long time which would contribute to the normalization of the country's life. In the past days, the first steps were taken; and immediately certain circles in the West stopped liking the developments in the Polish People's Republic, although they were praising them before. All of a sudden, they have their mouths full of "concern" for the "Polish future" and of appeals for "nonintervention." For Poland and the Polish people and for a gradual return to the road forward, it would be very useful if they would call...on themselves.

PCI's Stand Criticized

AU191134 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Dec 81 p 7

[Julius P. Loerincz commentary: "On One Response"]

[Text] The latest events in Poland naturally elicited great interest all over the world. This is also borne out by the press agency reports published in our newspapers.

The reactions differ -- that, too, is natural -- and it cannot be said that they are particularly surprising. American authorities or the NATO headquarters scarcely conceal their disappointment that their plans for a reversal of the socialist development in Poland are not going to happen. It is also hardly surprising that the Italian Christian Democratic leader Carlo Donat-Cattin, whose son Marco is being tried for neofascist subversive activities, lectures about the relation between socialism and democracy. He is obviously a "well-qualified" expert on such problems.

What is staggering, however, is the response of some comrades; I am thinking specifically of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party [PCI]. It is not easy to have to say these words but one can hardly suppress one's astonishment over the fact that whereas even some bourgeois politicians realistically assess the decision of the Polish People's Republic's State Council as a measure designed to prevent the worst from happening, in the stand of the aforementioned comrades one cannot find even a word of understanding for this step -- as though they did not see what was and is going on in Poland, as if they did not see the Polish reality. Their statement is not short of categorical admonitions and orders addressed to the Polish Government, communists and working people, telling them how to solve the Polish crisis "with the participation of all segments of society through a true democratization process," by achieving all-national accord through discussion. Well, this is OK, but when did the PCI leadership find words of open criticism at the time when precisely the leaders of "Solidarity" were violating this line and even openly repudiating it by declaring that they did not want to negotiate with communists (the PCI's statement mentions, after all, "all segements of society") and opt for open confrontation with people's power?!

In its Sunday night commentary, PAP gave an indirect answer to those who cannot grasp that, first, the declaration of the state of emergency does not amount to the setting up of military rule and, second, that it was not made necessary by communists but by the prophets of confrontation and counterrevolution behind the shield of "Solidarity": "Only those who are blind and deaf could fail to note the struggles that lasted for months, during which it was power and the toppling of our system for one side that was at stake and real socialist renewal for the other side. Only those who are blind and deaf could fail to see the sincerely outstretched hand toward national accord on the one side and the cynical politicking and brutal and unscrupulous struggle for power on the other side."

The solution of the political crisis in Poland will surely require the active contribution and participation of the broadest possible strata of the Polish working people. That, however, can be achieved only under conditions of calm. This was also said, for example, by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, and it is hoped that the PCI leadership will find time to really read through his entire speech. He stressed in it that in the same way as there cannot be a deviation from socialism, there also cannot be a return to the incorrect methods and practices prior to August 1980. He said: "The Army will not replace the normal mechanisms of socialist democracy. However, democracy can be practiced only in a state that is strong and based on law. Anarchy means a repudiation of democracy and is its enemy."

RECENT EVENTS IN POLAND REPORTED, ANALYZED

'Provocations' in Mines

AU241133 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 81 p 7

[Reportage by RUDE PRAVO special correspondent "(UL)": "They Were Preparing a St. Bartholomew's Night; A Visit to the Piast and Ziemowit Mines"]

[Text] In its program of subversive activity and gradual dismantling of socialist order, "Solidarity" counted particularly on the young, not yet stabilized, working collectives.

In connection with the continuing provocations in the Piast and Ziemowit mines in Tychy, it sent its emissaries, among them those from the ranks of KOR members and the Confederation for an Independent Poland members -- we were told this at the PZPR's voivodship committee in Katowice.

We were told that even today the people who had partly occupied the subsurface of the Tychy mines include many who have nothing in common with mining.

The immobile cable cars in the Piast mine indicate at once that the provocations in compliance with the "Solidarity" and the Western communications media are still continuing. The people from the technical control informed us that so far more than 1,700 people have refused to come up from the pit. Slightly fewer than 200 have already come up. They are not talking about miners, but about persons, because they have found out that, judging by the number of people in the mine and after adding to them those who are above the surface, the pit would have to have far more workers than are listed in the personnel files.

"There are people there who are completely unknown in the region. They are the most aggressive," we were told by one of the miners who had already quit the so-called protest. Many miners are not staying there voluntarily. We were subjected to pressure, which gradually changed into terror, he tells us. The blows he had suffered testify to this.

And when he tried to reach the shaft pit to come up to the surface, those guarding the platform there freed the way for him. He could come up for a while, they said, on the condition that he would come up naked! He agreed.

But this was merely the beginning. After he had stripped, he had no time to count the blows which fell on him; he retreated before the streams of ice-cold water. "We will cool your head," they yelled at him. He was driven back. He only succeeded in leaving via a ventilation shaft. The public security members did not expect him there and to be manacled, as the group of shock-workers from "Solidarity" are intimidating the people underground. His first steps led him to a shower, then to a canteen. And there he heard with surprise about the enterprise director's letter. He was told of the appeal to come up from the pit, accompanied by the guarantee that nothing would happen to those who were not among the organizers of the provocation. How many people still remain there out of fear? They had let themselves be stultified by the propaganda of the new strangers, we were told by one of the enterprise dispatchers.

On our way to the Ziemowit mine we went through Tychy. On one of the houses there still hung a picture of a small house bearing the symbol of the cross, a symbol which has cropped up in many Polish cities since 10 December. What was the meaning? The materials confiscated in the "Solidarity" headquarters (even in local Tychy) explain this. The signs mark the houses in which former functionaries of party and state bodies and security members live. During "Solidarity's" attack, aimed at definitely taking over power, the signs were to have contributed toward a quicker orientation during the "settling of accounts." According to the explanation of our escort, the cross was to mark the house where some persons designated for liquidation lived. The small house meant a prison. There were several signs. The commandos had very precise instructions: The action was to have taken place on the night from 18 to 19 December. On the preceding day they were to have seized all official premises and institutions.

The Ziemowit mine shows the same picture that Piast did. Here, too, extraction is still at a standstill, although Poland is waiting for every kilogram of coal. The report on the blowing-up of a mine pit proves to be false. Radio Free Europe and the London BBC again presented their wish as fact. On the contrary, almost 900 people had come up from the pit.

The truth is that about 1,100 people, including the agents provocateurs from other regions, are still in the mine which is about 650 meters deep.

Allegedly they are refusing to come up until the state of emergency is revoked and impunity ensured for all participants in the "protest." But this is far from the entire mining collective here, as one of the canards of the Munich broadcasting station claimed, because the enterprise has more than 10,000 workers.

Poland's Urban Gives Views

AU241015 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 81 p 7

[CTK Warsaw dispatch: "The Complicated Process of Consolidation; J. Urban's Interview With Czechoslovak Press Representatives"]

[Text] Warsaw (CTK) -- Jerzy Urban, the Polish Government's press secretary, has given an interview to the Warsaw correspondents of CTK, RUDE PRAVO, the Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent Pavol Minarik, and the Czechoslovak Radio and Czechoslovak Television correspondents.

Asked about the Polish Government's assessment of the situation in the country one week after the declaration of the state of emergency, J. Urban said that the decree on the state of emergency is working well and is being, on the whole, respected. Its imposition met with the understanding of the society's overwhelming majority. However, it also encountered lack of understanding, especially on the part of the "Solidarity" politickers. Following the declaration of the state of emergency, they instigated a number of strikes all over the country. At the beginning the strike wave was relatively big even though it affected only a small percentage of the total number of enterprises.

The government regards it as its great -- especially political -- success that the "Solidarity" leaders failed to stage a general strike, which they threatened to hold in the event of the imposition of the state of emergency, or even some sort of a national uprising for which they had already prepared, as is well known, storm troops and exact scenarios. Order-enforcing units, however, had to intervene in some industrial enterprises where the "Solidarity" leaders had succeeded in staging strikes. This was necessary, among other things, because the strikes' organizers terrorized the workers not only morally but even physically.

The expectations that soldiers and members of the public security corps would refuse to obey their commanders remained unfulfilled, Jerzy Urban went on to say. We have not registered any such cases. It has been demonstrated that the soldiers and security forces are fulfilling their tasks in a very disciplined and devoted manner.

In liquidating the strikes in keeping with the decree on the state of emergency, as is known, a tragic incident has happened at the Wujet mine, during which seven persons lost their lives. The Polish state bodies are deeply shocked by this event, the government's press secretary stressed, because their aim was to forestall bloodshed by all means possible. They believe that the instigators of the conflict are fully to blame for this incident because the state of emergency must be respected. The strike wave is now abating and the enterprises that are still on strike can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

J. Urban further said that the Polish public is responding to the state of emergency, on the whole, with understanding. It goes without saying that no one is enthusiastic about it; after all, a state of emergency is nothing pleasant or joyous. It is a somber inevitability. The response to army members is, however, sympathetic and full of respect. That is also true of the military bodies, of the commissioners of the Military Council of National Salvation, for example. It can be said finally that even in the course of previous weeks the military operative groups met with the support of 91 percent of the society, which has been confirmed by a nationwide public opinion poll.

It is natural that the response to the state of emergency is not the same among all social groups of the population. There is still much disorientation, temporizing and hesitation.

This is characteristic especially of intellectuals, a part of whom had cooperated with the political leadership of "Solidarity" and had been associated with its political program. They regard the present situation as a defeat. A certain number of persons from such circles had to be interned since they engaged in hostile activities.

The government evaluates on the whole positively the response of the Catholic Church. Primate Glemp has made two appeals calling for calm and against the arousing of conflicts. The church bodies' position however, is varied.

Asked about the government's activities following the imposition of the state of emergency, J. Urban said that the government and other constitutional bodies continue to fulfill their normal duties. The Military Council is occupied with ensuring calm in the broad sense of the word. The government and its agencies, ministers and voivodas, are making decisions as usual. There have been no changes in their legal powers, even though numerous decisions are being made in consultation with the Military Council so as not to disturb calm in the country and to make the decisions dovetail with the conditions of the state of emergency.

Somewhat different is the role of the Military Council's commissioners in individual voivodships and plants. Their task is to ensure stabilization, meaning that they are also concerned with supplies of foodstuffs to the population, with transportation and so forth. They are also assisting local bodies in fulfilling their tasks under the conditions of [the state of] emergency.

Interned Solidarity Officials

AU231324 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Dec 81 p 7

["UL"-signed dispatch by RUDE PRAVO's special correspondent: "They Lie and Threaten; The Interned 'Solidarity' Leaders' Testimony"]

[Text] "I have nothing to discuss with you. We will still have time enough to talk with you. The tide will soon turn, that's as sure as fate. You will then be in our place and better you do not look forward to that talk."

Leszek Waliszewski, leader of the Silesia-Dabrowa regional "Solidarity," one of the KOR members interned in Katowice, gave no more answers to the journalists' questions. It was not even necessary. He had already expressed his credo several times -- in Gdansk, where he underwent training for his activities in "Solidarity," or in Tychy where he provoked a strike in the car-manufacturing plant that cost the Polish national economy millions of zlotys. His presentation at "Solidarity's" nationwide get-together was marked by attacks on socialism and the Soviet Union and in the same spirit he also masterminded the activities of Walesa's trade unions in Silesia.

Andrzej Rozplochowski, another chieftain of the regional organization, was more talkative. He allegedly knew nothing of "Solidarity's" preparations for seizing power, did not have time yet to study the organization's entire program, and the attacks on socialism contained in it are described by him as slander. In short, he himself is as innocent as a baby.

Only a few months ago he called for 90 gallows for 90 prominent communists. Together with Zbigniew Iwanow, a PZPR apostate from Torun, and Karol Modzelewski, until recently Walesa's closest collaborator, we worked on so-called principles of "Solidarity's" cooperation with party and state bodies, principles, the ultimate result of which were to be precisely the aforementioned gallows. When we reminded him of this, he was suddently speechless.

Our Katowice talks with Lech Walesa's former associates from the Silesia-Dabrowa region did not last long. They either had previously been innocent as lambs or did not stop threatening even when in isolation.

The second group has clearly laid its cards on the table. As for the first, "innocent" group, we were able to confront them with at least some excerpts from the materials that had been found in their headquarters on Sefranko and Stalmach streets. It goes without saying that these bore their signatures.

A statement by Jacek Kuron served as the motto of the instructions of the Silesia-Dabrowa "Solidarity" for the event of a confrontation with the government. He recommended that a general strike be called, which would surely set off the declaration of a state of emergency. The next step recommended by him was a confrontation by force, the arousing of a civil war.

That is why so much attention was devoted in the instructions to the setting up of so-called order-enforcing and protective units under the banner of the antistate organization Confederation for an Independent Poland.

"We must select strong and firm, tested men.... Everyone is bound to unconditional discipline.... The groups must be ready for 15 December 1981," we learn from the content of the instruction, even revealing the date of the attack that was being prepared. There is also talk about weapons in it.

Somewhat later we talked to miners at the Brynow mine. They told us about preparations of Molotov cocktails, about pyramids of cobblestones, and so forth. Each of these "jobs" of "Solidarity" members had the same deadline: 15 December, the day when those serving their second year in the Polish People's Army were to be demobilized and a new age group was to be drafted. The authors of the instruction foresaw that people's power would be temporarily weakened. During the talk they naturally "knew nothing" about all this, even though their own signatures were proving them guilty.

"They reckoned with murder. Today they lie and feign their innocence," a mining machinery maintenance worker at the Brynow mine told us about the interned "Solidarity" leaders.

CPCZ Seminar on Crisis Causes

AU231214 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Dec 81 p 2

[CTK report: "Theoretical Seminar"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- The Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPCZ Central Committee yesterday held a seminar on the problems of the theoretical research into the substance and causes of the crisis and counterrevolution in Poland. In his opening words, M. Matous, deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed that precisely in these days and hours the Polish comrades, who are waging a struggle against counterrevolution, are standing in one of the most frequented sectors of the international class struggle. This struggle of the Polish comrades against the forces of reation closely concerns us too, and our scientists and theoreticians do not want to stand aside. In the discussion one spoke especially about the methods of a critical comparison of experience which arise in this sphere from the struggle against counterrevolution in the CSSR, as well as about the lessons stemming from the activity of the reactionary forces in Poland for our further theoretical work.

MINISTRY DELCARATION ON GOLAN HEIGHTS ANNEXATION

AU241300 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 81 p 1

["The Declaration of the CSSR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Condemnation of the Annexation of the Golan Heights"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- On 14 December this year, the Israeli Government -- and later the Israeli parliament, too -- adopted a decision on annexing the Golan Heights, a sovereign territory of the Arab Republic of Syria which was illegally occupied by Israel in 1967.

The Czechoslovak people and the CSSR Government are deeply indignant and resolutely condemn this egregious act.

The Israeli course is yet another of the hostile actions aimed against the Arabs, primarily against the sovereign Arab Republic of Syria. It is a gross violation of the UN Charter, international law and the UN Security Council's Middle East settlement resolution.

The Israeli Government's illegal act yet again confirmed that this government regards the trampling underfoot of the basic principles of internatinal law as part of its policy. The Israeli ruling circles are again proving that it is not their desire to live in peace with their neighbors and that they are not interested in achieving a lasting and just settlement in the Middle East area. The fact that the adoption of the law on annexing the Golan Heights follows the annexation of the Arab part of Jerusalem last year, as well as the generally known fact that it was being prepared for some time, shows the cold-blooded and cynical attitude with which Israel approaches the vitally important matters of relations with neighboring Arab states and the maintenance of world peace.

Responsibility for the annexation of the Golan Heights is also fully borne by the United States. This new aggressive act by Israel is the immediate consequence of the policy of separate negotiations and anti-Arab agreements on "strategic cooperation"; nothing of this is changed by the circumstance that the United States has suspended the validity of this agreement. The Israeli Government would not be able to carry out its anti-Arab expansionist policy without all-round American assistance and support.

Czechoslovakia resolutely condemns the aggressive Israeli attacks against the neighboring Arab states and expresses its support for and solidarity with the people of the Arab Republic of Syria. Czechoslovakia emphatically demands that Israel cancel its shameful decision on annexing the Golan Heights. The CSSR fully backs the unanimously adopted resolution of the UN Security Council, which declared invalid the Israeli Government's decision on annexing the Golan Heights and which called upon Israel to revoke it immediately.

In case Israel fails to comply with the resolution, the CSSR emphatically demands that the UN Security Council implement its authority and adopt an effective measure for restoring the legitimate rights of the Arab Republic of Syria in keeping with the UN Charter. Both the Czechoslovak Government and the Czechoslovak people are also prepared in the future to support the just cause of the Arabs against the Israeli aggression, and to strive to install a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

HUSAK 19 DEC RETURN FROM MOSCOW REPORTED

LD200046 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2300 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, who was in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers to attend the celebrations of the 75th birthday of Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has returned back home.

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, and other members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee Milos Jakes and Antonin Kapek; secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee Mikulas Beno, Josef Haman, Jindrich Polednik; member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee Oldrich Svestka, and other personalities of our political and public life.

CPCZ'S MESSAGE ON BREZHNEV'S 75TH BIRTHDAY

AU211501 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 81 p 1

["CPCZ Central Committee's Message of Greetings to Comrade L.I. Brezhnev"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Brezhnev, accept on your 75th birthday cordial, comradely greetings and most sincere congratulations from the CPCZ Central Committee, communists and all Czechoslovak people.

We are sincerely glad that you enjoy good health and that you celebrate your jubilee in the midst of productive, creative work, at a time when the Soviet people -- under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party -- are successfully implementing the conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Your life, which is closely associated with the heroic struggles and selfless building efforts by the people of the fraternal land of the soviets, is an example of loyality and dedication to the interests of the Soviet working people and an example of profound love for his homeland. Under your immediate leadership, the program of Lenin is being purposefully implemented whose expression in the present stage is the all-round development of an advanced socialist society and the building of the material-technical base of communism. The Soviet Union has achieved significant successes in all spheres of its domestic and foreign policy in this period, successes that are a result of the party's realistic and scientifically founded policy. We known that you are devoting all your knowledge, experience, abilities and energy to this work, that you have dedicated all your fruitful life to it.

For hundreds of millions of people in the world your name has become a symbol of an untiring struggle for preserving and consolidating peace, for a life free of wars, violence and exploitation. Together with you we profoundly realize that to defend peace is the most important task of the present, without which mankind's further economic and social progress would be unthinkable.

The CPCZ and all our people express great appreciation and, through their deeds, active support for the Soviet Union's highly principled peace policy. The Soviet Union is the decisive force and mainstay in the struggle of nations for consolidating peace and security and averting the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet Union's initiative-filled policy of peace, which expresses the longings of the entire human race for peace, is also in full accordance with the vital interests of our people. The present generations recall with gratitude that, thanks especially to this consistent policy pursued by the Soviet Union and to your personal untired efforts, the nations on the European Continent have been living in peace, without the horror and suffering of war, for 36 years.

Inseparably associated with your name, Dear Leonid Ilich, is also the highly principled struggle for strengthening the cohesion of the international communist and workers movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and for deepening the unity of the countries of the socialist community and their multifaceted cooperation, collaboration and coordination of their joint course of action.

Every day brings new evidence of the indestructible friendship between our nations, of the multifaceted development of relations between the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and between our two countries' state and social organs and organizations, individual enterpresies and institutions and people. Czechoslovak-Soviet relations are an example of truly fraternal cooperation, developed in the spirit of the principles of socialist internationalism, mutual understanding, respect and trust.

We hold in profound esteem your close relationship with our country and its people, which was reinforced by your personal participation in the battles for the liberation of Czechlslovakia in the ranks of the glorious Red Army. We highly appraise your personal contribution to strengthening the ties of friendship and comradely cooperation between our parties and countries.

Dear Leonid Ilich, for your special contribution you have been awarded, at the recommendation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, for the third time, the title Hero of the CSSR and the Klement Gottwald Order. We congratulate you wholeheartedly on the award of these highest Czechoslovak state distinctions.

We wish you in the years to come good health and much personal contentment and new successes in your responsible work for the well-being of the Soviet people and for the victory of the ideas of socialism, peace and progress all over the world.

FURTHER ON ANTI-CSSR EMIGRE ACTIVITY, RECORDINGS

LD221340 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Third installment in the series "Voices, From the Other Side" by editor Peter Voldan on the hostile activities of some emigre groups against the CSSR; passage in quotation marks recorded]

[Text] At the end of the last installment, we got as far as the method of hostile emigration, primarily the methods used by its representatives Pavel Tigrid, Jiri Pelikan and others, controlled and financed by the CIA, in influencing citizens in Czechoslovakia and in attempting to involve them in their plans. This was to be done also with the help of people sent to our country with the task of making contact with the enemies of socialism.

Before we listen to authentic material which will illustrate the preparation of such trips, let us recall a part from the last installment which whose the assessment, on the other side, of the return of one such messenger. Mrs Tigrid is talking to her husband about the emissary Cory:

"[Mrs Tigrid] So this was Cory, (?their) own choice. He was in Czechoslovakia between 20 April and 1 May, that is, 8 days. He visited Bartosek and also Anicka Sabatova, and he left money with Anicka Sabatova. [Words indistinct]" he apologizes.

"[Mr Tigrid] But money, that would be something!"

Let us add to Mrs Tigrid's words that the word "machines" stands for copying machines and other printing equipment and that, together with the rest of the required items, such things in the hands of the enemies of socialism are used as a means for subversive activity. As we have heard from Mrs Tigrid, the emissary named Cory was visiting Czechoslovakia not as a tourist but had absolutely precise instructions and was visiting specific people.

Just in case someone believes that the transportation of antistate contraband through the border crossing at Bolni Dvoriste or Cory's trip were isolated actions by hostile groups, let him hear the following sound recordings which we have selected from vast authentic material and which testify to the contrary. The point is that there have been not only Annis, Thonon, and Cory but also others.

The bosses from the American CIA and other Western intelligence services are still paying, and so the leaders of the hostile emigration want and, in fact, must do at least a little to deserve their mercenary pay. In the fight against the countries of the soicalist community there are using a very colorful and varied set of tools. For their ideological subversion, psychological warfare and stirring up antistate activity they also frequently misuse organizations which use loud slogans giving the impression of seriousness and, frequently, the impression that they are for the general good. One of these organizations is Amnesty International, which has recently been increasingly frequently misused to discredit the countries of the socialist community. It is thus not surprising that both Tigrid and Pelikan have their representatives in Amnesty International; of course, they do not mention them officially. Through them they try to fulfill the subversive tasks allotted them. Such a task is being performed for Tigrid by his close friend from the time of the BBC, Jiri Steiner. Working for Pelikan's Listy group in Amnesty International is Vladimir Tosek and his wife. He is known for his antisocialist contributions on Czechoslovak Television in 1968.

The following conversation between Mrs Tigrid and Mrs Danisz, a member of an Amnesty International department, confirms that they do perform their tasks. Moreover, we will gradually learn about this woman's preparations for a trip to Czechoslovakia. The conversation is held in French [with superimposed Czech translation]:

[Mrs Danisz] This will be my first experience since I have never had an opportunity. For a year I have been thinking about this plan. In 1980 Amnesty International in London was able to make a contact.

"[Mrs Tigrid] Steiner?

"[Mrs Danisz] Yes. He's our correspondent; that is, he passes to us the information which he receives."

The name "Steiner" was mentioned in the conversation. We have already mentioned him. The information he passes on is provided by none other than Tigrid. Let us listen again to the conversation of the two women:

"[Mrs Danisz] I will be traveling with a girl friend who is an English teacher, so if there are any language problems it will be better for me and it will also be an encouragement for me.

"[Mrs Tigrid] Yes. I also believe it will be better for you, but only if it is a good friend. Of course, even if you go to the meeting yourself [as heard]. Have you not mentioned in the letter that you are coming?

"[Mrs Danisz] No. I have just inquired. I think it is better that way since if they read his correspondence -- no, I did not dare to say anything in detail. I thought that it would be possible to send information via other routes.

"[Mrs Tigrid] (?Yes, that's possible.) I may be able to arrange it by 7 August."

It is clear from the conversation that the member of an Amnesty International Department is intending to visit Czechoslovakia. Of course, we have nothing against that. But this woman asks Mrs Tigrid to arrange a meeting through underground methods and by a certain date. Well, that is not usually done by ordinary tourists. The next part of the conversation reveals the purpose of the meetings and with whom they are to be:

"[Mrs Danisz] We cannot expect an immediate answer. [Words indistinct] I would have an answer by the beginning of August. [Words indistinct] Yes, it is true that the Charterists, his friends, keep in touch with him at work. But in any case I think that is dangerous for a foreign tourist; it would be a disaster, better to contact him directly, via some person.

"[Mrs Tigrid] Yes, let's hope. Because of you also. [Words indistinct] two manuscripts, and he enjoyed your support.

"[Mrs Danisz] Yes. He is very considerate."

We already know who is to be secretly contacted. Let us assume that it is a person disagreeing with the socialist system in our country. The conversation enables us to find out a little about the purpose of the secret meeting. Why does Mrs Tigrid think it so dangerous? And why does her friend use the word "disaster" when talking about a possible disclosure of the meeting? The next conversation will tell us why:

"[Mrs Tigrid] If you like, I will give you a few addresses. Mr Maly will send you on to someone. They will no doubt be pleased. For example, the lawyer Danisz. He cannot find anything, not even an office job. He has work now but he is completely isolated and far away from what he used to do as an enterprise lawyer, that's the problem. He is not alone; Milos Reichert also did that. You know they have jobs where they are left alone a bit.

"[Mrs Danisz] (?At long last) it is possible to do as much as possible, if I have a chance.

"[Mrs Tigrid] But before you do anything, ask them what they need. [Words indistinct] and things which could upset the regime a little. Let them give you addresses of others. Amnesty is considered a subversive, anticommunist organization."

From this teach-in given by Mrs Tigrid we have learned about the direction in which the threats, that should have been kept secret are pointing. The messages were addressed to Messrs Maly, Danisz, Reichert and to some other enemies of socialism, and they were meant to activate their subversive activity. Hence the fear of being discovered. So it is thus that the trips of various messengers and contacts are being prepared. A fact we know confirms that it was not merely an informative conversation: Mrs Rosalind-Marie Danisz, employed not by accident by an American firm, who in the conversation with Mrs Tigrid was not interested in the beauties of our country but primarily in, and I cite Tigrid's words," things that could upset the regime a little," really did arrive in Czechoslovakia on the agreed date. It was on 8 August 1981 and she stayed over here in the Prague Hotel Ambassador, in Bratislava in the Hotel Kiev, and she also stayed in the Hotel Bystrica in Hradec Kralov.

Even before we listened to the authentic sound recording we mentioned Amnesty International. We also know that Danisz is a member of one of its branches, and the organization's name was also mentioned in the conversation. The organization was set up in 1961 in Great Britain, and originally it was to work for the benefit of, I quote, "forgotten prisoners." According to its statute it should be an unbiased organization, but in recent years the work of many of its members has gradually confirmed its clear one-sided orientation against the countries of the socialist community, especially in connection with the American administration's campaign surrounding the so-called fight for human rights.

Instead of further comment let me just ask the following question: Why is this organization conducting pressure and provocative actions abroad for the release of lawfully sentenced persons who have violated our laws? Is it not maybe because some of the members of Amnesty International take part in organizing this subversive activity. In cooperation with the leaders of the hostile emigration they involve our citizens in this, and when they receive a just sentence in accordance with the law for such an activity they are immediately very concerned as to whether they are not being harmed. It might be said that they thus kind of intentiorally create a clientele for themselves and then feel responsible to look after it. And not only that: While doing so they create the impression that people in the world have no other problems but to worry about a handful of so-called dissidents in our country.

We have showed, or rather it has been revealed to us by documentary sound recordings, how it is possible to misuse such an organization as Amnesty International for stirring up illegal activity in our country. The mechanism, however, is more complex and the manipulation more discreet on the surface. It is enough to recall various committees existing in a number of Western countries which call themselves Czechoslovak. In reality, their purpose is strictly practical and above all they have an antisocialist pressure nature. They are without a mass basis: A handful of emigres like Pachmann, Josten and Filip, who appear in various places and in various roles, because their opportunist planting is one of the methods of the anticommunist centers, is enough. In the Western countries they are insignificant. Their popularity is artificially inflated and fed. They are then joined by various daixes, ripa di meanas, [word indistinct] and this constitutes a team of professional protesters against the so-called injustice in the socialist countries. The bourgeois mass media do not care that this is merely several dozen names which are repeated all the time in all those committees which frequently have a completely opposite orientation. It is crucial for them that they have a means by which they can present to the people their ideas and antisocialist campaigns following their own scenarios. Through such people they can influence and manipulate public opinion. This is how these committees and their names are being used.

The following sound recordings illustrate how such a campaign is born and prepared. This particular campaign should take place in 1982. The target is not only culture in Czechoslovakia but also in other countries of the socialist community. We have already said something that was also confirmed several times by the sound recordings: that the hostile emigre groupings are fulfilling their tasks only in collaboration with and under the direct control of those institutions which are responsible for special tasks.

One of them is also a CIA radio station, the so-called Radio Free Europe. It itself cannot and does not wish to pose as an organizer. This is determined not only by its official role but mainly because it is discredited not only in our country but also in Western countries. It is thus necessary to find a suitable cover, someone who would lend himself to the realization of its intentions. The discovery of such a cover organization has been entrusted to no one else but the trusted executor of American orders, head of production of the Czechoslovak section of the so-called Radio Free Europe, Vladimir Benes. The CIA has already fully tested him and he, at the age of 53, enjoys their total trust. But despite his position, or maybe because of his position, he does not have the necessary status and authority and so he decided to discuss everything with his former boss, a specialist on subversion work, Pavel Tigrid. This was also confirmed by their conversation held in June 1981. In the opening of the conversation Benes explains the academic nature of the organization which they want to manipulate:

[Benes] [Passage indistinct]

[Tigrid] [Passage indistinct]

You heard Benes and his view of the organization which Tigrid calls the SVU, that is, the Society for Sciences and Arts. It was set up in 1961 in the United States and is to include academically educated people of Czechoslovak origin. Its statute says that it is a nonpolitical organization, something which is not to the liking but, on the other hand, to the advantage of both Tigrid and Benes. Moreover, it has both name and money, as Tigrid himself said, and that is most important. Benes has even already defined the role it should play:

"[Benes] [Passage indistinct]"

So the SVU, according to the intentions of the so-called Radio Free Europe and Tigrid, is to play the important role of some sort of cover. In reality, Benes speaking in the previous sound recording attributed to the organization a role which is not quite dignified: of being only a caretaker which would only organize and moreover pay. But many members of the organization would not like this being merely a caretaker.

As to the contents, that would be defined by the CIA. Tigrid has already said it quite clearly: The importance of a secondary culture in East Europe, that is, the culture of the creators of antisocialist pamphlets, whose transportation to our country, as we have already shown, has been organized, for example, by the PALACH PRESS AGENCY. Of course, Tigrid cannot deliver a paper at the planned congress. Because of his generally well known, colorful past and collaboration with the CIA that would not have the desired effect. But the stars of this future congress are not to be emigres of the type of Solzhenitsyn or Skvorecky either. Why? Benes himself explains:

"[Benes] [Passage indistinct]"

Tigrid argued with Benes also about the title of the congress. It should be attractive, it should indicate some sort of professional standard; and it should also hint at the quality of its contents. The biased orientation against the countries of the socialist community and its antisocialist nature should not be apparent at first sight. The venue for the congress also caused something of a problem. In any case it should take place in a European country so that the campaign is not too clearly marked by the fact that it is an American intention, a CIA intention.

In this part of the conversation - and it could not have been otherwise -- Tigrid had most to say:

"[Tigrid] [Passage indistinct]"

So Tigrid chose West Berlin. Why? He himself explained that. The conclusion of the conversation in which Tigrid tells Benes that he supports Berlin as the venue for the congress is worth repeating, I believe. Tigrid's oreintation is clear -- after all we have demonstrated this in previous programs, and, he has said it himself in the sound recordings. He is the executor and manager of the American CIA's interests. Here again he reveals himself as a provocateur who attempts to organize a provocation:

"[Tigrid] [Passage indistinct]"

Apart from the obvious attempt to manipulate the SVU, another very significant aspect is noticeable about the whole thing, that is, that Benes, who is not and cannot be a member of the SVU, is able to decide these questions. The explanation is quite clear and simple: He is acting on the instruction and the order of the CIA transmitter -- the so-called Radio Free Europe -- and he is doing so after consultations with a tested agent of the American intelligence service, Tigrid. He must respect the principle that the real organizer of the campaign will have to remain secret so that its transmitter is able to play the role of an unbiased observer and, as it were, a detached reporter.

We have already said enough about Tigrid and his allies and about their hostile activity. Much has been revealed by themselves. Tigrid endeavors, and as we have demonstrated, not without success to achieve unity and cooperation of action between the various centers of the hostile and not only Czechoslovak emigration. He has achieved this especially regarding the group surrounding Pelikan and has called it himself a joint enterprise. But even in this joint enterprise, because of his collaboration with the CIA and his long-term activity in subversion, he assumes some sort of leading role. In this there are no obstacles for him although the failures and flops of the recent period have upset his nerves. So he would like to use a greater number of people. But listen now to what he has to say about this:

"[Tigrid] My nerves are sort of upset, and I am having to take a lot of drugs. But is is getting better. I must work less and have more people working for me."

Now listen again to this idea of Tigrid, and what he says next will tell us more about yet another sphere in which Tigrid and his allies have spread the nets: We will hear from Tigrid why the hostile emigres are interested precisely in China:

"[Tigrid] My nerves are sort of upset, and I am having to take a lot of drugs. But it is getting better. I must work less and have more people working for me."

Yes, we have already heard this, but Tigrid goes on:

"[Tigrid] Well, Pelikan has told me that Reiman, Mlynar and you are going. Well, you have a big ally in the general secretary -- he is general secretary, isn't he, that host of yours? I think so. [words indistinct]"

So Pelikan regularly informs Tigrid about his intentions and about the trips of his collaborators to China, about the ways of utilizing the current aggressive and antisocialist policy of the Chinese leadership. Recently China was visited not only by Pelikan himself but also by Reiman, Mlynar, Mueller, Sik, Janouch, Silnicky, and by other activists of Pelikan's group. Jan Kavan, too, was preparing for a visit. Another member of the group, Kovan, worked in Chinese radio for several years; together with Kavan this man was breaking up the Czechoslovak Union of Youth in 1968.

In the last year a visit was made also by the daughter of Pelikan's loyal friend, the former Czechoslovak diplomat, Jiri Starek, who has already been disclosed in Czechoslovakia as an agent of the West German intelligence service, BND. But here is Pavel Tigrid talking about this:

"[Tigrid] [Passage indistinct]"

In the next part of a conversation with Adolf Mueller, member of the coordination committee of Pelikan's Listy group and head of the emigre "Index" in the FRG, Tigrid assumes a leading role and his lecturing has the appropriate buildup. It is clear that these visits to China are not friendly visits but are necessary to gain as much as possible for the realization of subversive actions against Czechoslovakia.

"[Tigrid] [Passage indistinct]"

Tigrid is interested in utilizing the possibility of Chinese embassies' transporting the means and instructions for subversive activity to certain persons in Czechoslovakia. Failures force him to seek new paths. Never mind that this would be via the diplomatic services and that, moreover, it would be quite a diversion: Reaching Czechoslovakia via China is quite a path. This illustrates just how much he is interested in the possibility of transporting to our country antistate materials and the necessary means, no matter what the expenditure and complexity of it is. Adolf Mueller must even give him a written report on the result of the negotiations. And what is it that Tigrid wants to transport to Czechoslovakia? We know already. But he himself will tell us again:

"[Tigrid] [Passage indistinct]"

Tigrid continued to issue orders and even though his expressions were milder he could not prevent himself from accusing Pelikan's group of not being sufficiently active -- from his viewpoint -- vis-a-vis the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland:

"[Tigrid] [Passage indistinct]"

And Pelikan's group is doing its best, so that next time its activity is criticized as little as possible. For this reason they also invited to a congress held in Rome in October 1981 a Polish emigre, Prof Wladzimierz Brus, who said in Paris that he was glad to participate in the exchange of experiences on the heritage of the so-called Prague Spring. He added that he was doubly glad since as much as 5 years ago Adam Michnik and Jiri Pelikan exchanged views as to how it would be possible to use in Poland the findings and experiences from 1968 in the preparation of the counterrevolution by the Polish Social Self-Defense Committee and now even by so-called Solidarity. One thing is symptomatic for everything we have said about and heard from Tigrid, a man who keeps standing at the forefront of the hostile Czechoslovak emigres: This Paris congress could not end otherwise but with a cocktail given at the end of it by Tigrid for the few dozen participants on the premises of Svedectvi. They were headed by Pelikan, Mlynar and even Sik. In today's installment of the "Voices From the Other Side" we have had a look at what the enemies of our country are preparing. They themselves have lifted a little the veil hiding their future activity. In the next installment of "Voices From the Other Side" you will learn about the future development of their antisocialist effort and about the tasks given to them by their masters in the America CIA.

CHARTER 77 SPOKESMAN RELEASED IN PRAGUE 21 DEC

NC211823 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 21 Dec (AFP) -- Ordained priest Vaclav Maly, spokesman for the Charter 77 human rights group, was freed here today after being held in custody for five days but has been indicted on a charge that could put him in jail for a year, circles close to the charter said.

Mr Maly, aged 31, who was deprived of his ministry by the authorities, was picked up along with other charter members, the sources said, to prevent any public statement by Charter 77 on events in Poland.

Among the other persons arrested, only historian Karel Bartosek, aged 51, was still in custody today, after four days' detention. Under Czechoslovak law, a person may only be held for a maximum of 48 hours without charge.

Mr Maly himself said he had been charged with "negligence resulting in damage to socialist property."

His friends said the charge referred to the explosion of a boiler that he was in charge of, adding that he had reported a technical failure in the boiler a few days before the blast and asked for repairs to be done.

KAPEK MEETS WITH IUS REPRESENTATIVES IN PRAGUE

LD211808 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 21 Dec (CTK) -- The activity of the International Union of Students (IUS) is a good example of joint effort of wide circles of students in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America regardless of their race and ideological belief to contribute to the solution of the key problems of the present -- to ensure peace, avert a war catastrophe and strengthen detente, Antonin Kapek said here Monday.

The Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and chief secretary of its city committee in Prague was speaking at a meeting with representatives of the Prague-based Secretariat of the IUS, led by IUS chairman Miroslav Stepan. He expressed satisfaction over the fact that despite opposition of imperialist forces and reaction, progressive ideas based on the best revolutionary and anti-fascist traditions draw the interest of millions of young people from all continents.

IUS General Secretary Srinavasan Kunalan thanked at the end of the meeting for the all-round support provided to the IUS Secretariat by the Czechoslovak party and state bodies.

TRADE MINISTER URBAN VISITS HUNGARY 20 DEC

LD202120 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 Dec (MTI) -- Following an invitation from Hungarian Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress, Bhoumil Urban, Czechoslovak foreign trade minister, paid a friendly visit to Hungary to discuss with his Hungarian partner timely questions of the two countries' foreign trade.

Bohumil Urban was seen by Deputy Premier Jozsef Jarjai.

MINERS TO CONTINUE WORKING ON CHRISTMAS

AU241100 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Dec 81 p 2

[Unsigned report]: "Miners' Christmas"]

[Text] Most -- The miners of the North Bohemia brown-coal basin will consecrate Christmas by working. According to the original plan, they were to stop the extraction machinery at 1800 on Christmas Eve, and set it in motion again only on Sunday, 27 December, a day that is a normal working day for them during uninterrupted operations. However, in order to ensure the needed amounts of fuel for electric power stations and for other consumers, the surface mines will continue extraction work without interruption also on the night of Christmas Eve and on both following holidays -- on 25 and 26 December.

REAGAN'S 23 DEC ADDRESS 'STEPS UP INTERFERENCE'

LD241112 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1041 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, 24 Dec (ADN) -- The U.S. Administration has stepped up its interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Poland. President Reagan said in a TV address on Wednesday evening that the United States would further restrict its economic relations with Poland.

Following the blocking last week of grain deliveries worth $200 million, the U.S. administration has now imposed new export and credit restrictions. Reagan also announced measures against the Polish deep-sea fishing industry and the Polish airline LOT.

POLAND DAILY SITUATION REPORTED, ANALYZED

Western View Criticized

LD231052 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0215 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Commentary published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 23 December: "Revanchist Agitation and Proletarian Solidarity: The Parting of the Ways on the Attitude to Poland"]

[Text] Berlin, 23 Dec (ADN) -- In People's Poland the trend towards gradual stabilization of economic and public life continues. Most plants are operating normally again. Labor productivity is beginning to rise. The measures taken by the Military Council of National Salvation of Poland, led by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, against counterrevolutionaries, provocateurs and demogogues, against black-marketeers and speculators, are having an effect. All the friends of the Polish people, all those who have in the past few months followed with concern and anger the hateful attacks by "Solidarity" against the socialist order in the People's Republic of Poland hear this positive news with satisfaction.

However, just as efforts are growing to create order in Poland and the Polish people are trying to work their own way, by their own effort and with the solidarity and support of the fraternal counties out of the anarchy and paralysis brought about by the counterrevolution, anti-Polish agitation is on the increase in the West. The more a calm and normal working atmosphere spreads in Poland, the more unscrupulously do the television strategists in the NATO region build up their reports from the front. All kind of muck is scraped up to fling at the Polish people and its leadership. Lies and half-truths are frantically fabricated to fan an anti-Polish psychosis. Horror stories are put in the mouths of "travelers from Poland" to tell an astonished audience.

Politicians who take a hard line over their capitalist order publicly shed crocodile tears over rightly detained Polish counterrevolutionaries. At the same time they coldly turn the tap off, cancel loans and the supply of foodstuffs for children, women and workers in Poland.

Self-appointed "friends of Poland" who since August of last year, have warmly applauded every serious disruption to production, every threat of murder by "Solidarity" leaders against communists, now finally and clearly show themselves to be what they really are: accomplices of those who are without compunction driving Poland to the brink of national catastrophe. And this has to be clearly stated: Anyone still heedlessly trying to fan the embers of the fire laid by counterrevolution in Poland which is now being snuffed out, shows irresponsibility toward peace, security and detente on our continent.

The loudest voice in the chorus of the agitators is these days being risked by the old revanchists, those who marched when Hitler's boots trampled Polish soil underfoot and Polish blood flowed in streams under the hands of fascist murderers. They rejoiced when the leaders of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and "Solidarity" offered them fraternity.

Now they see their hopes of a revival of Hitler's "New Order in the East" dwindling away with the determined action of the Polish workers and soldiers. Today is the parting of the ways on the attitude to Poland.

The socialist German state of workers and farmers, all the people of the GDR stand firmly alongside our brothers in neighboring Poland who are now pulling the car out of the ditch, and alongside the upright communists, the soldiers of the Polish Army, the militiamen, the workers with "PRL" [Polish People's Republic] on the red-and-white armband. Together with the Soviet Union and the other states of our family of peoples we are fraternally bound with all those in Poland who are now rolling up their sleeves and are creating order in their socialist country, because they know that their work, their share in the work will be of benefit to People's Poland and to themselves.

These days it has again been shown who the Polish people's really reliable friends are. The foodstuffs, medicine and other aid goods, the donations to account No. 555 and last but not least, the Christmas parcels lovingly put together by Pioneers and teachers for Polish children who are suffering from the consequences of the counterrevolution, testify to this in their own way. An unbroken stream of truck convoys and special trains are rolling over the Oder-Neisse peace border.

It can be seen in particular in difficult days what proletarian solidarity and socialist internationalism is. In the support which we are today giving to the fraternal people in our socialist neighboring country, there continues to live the firm, militant unity of German and Polish communists against imperialism and fascism and for which Rosa Luxemburg, Wilhelm Pieck and Julian Marchlewski stood. They founded the strong tradition of firm friendship which grew after the victory of the Soviet Union over German fascism -- for which many Polish soldiers gave their lives -- between our two peoples under socialist conditions, a friendship which is a factor of prime importance for peace in Europe. The counterrevolution will be just as incapable of destroying this fraternal friendship as the socialist foundations of People's Poland.

Stanislaw Hiller, secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Pila, recently said: "We are strengthened in the knowledge that the German communists stand alongside our people and our party. We can count on them; they should be able to rely on us."

Comrade Hiller is right a thousand times over.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Summarized

AU221526 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 18 Dec on page 1 carries a 280-word ND report headlined "On the Situation in Poland; Military Council Carries Through Orders." The report refers to the measures of the Military Council for National Salvation and to the announcement of the detainment of 3,500 "Solidarity" leaders by Wednesday evening as well as to a PAP report on "'Solidarity' elements" organizing strikes.

The same paper on page 5 carries a 600-word ADN dispatch on Polish radio and television reports on the efforts of the Military Council to implement the measures of the state of emergency. The dispatch refers to Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member, stating before correspondents that the proclamation of the state of emergency was "a necessary political decision" and to TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI reports on Thursday that counterrevolutionaries "sabotage the measures of the Military Council."

On the same page the paper also carries various ADN reports on the situation in Poland: a 200-word report on a radio announcement on the provocations in Wujek coal mine, where 7 people died and 39 were injured when the security forces who wanted to disband the "counterrevolutionary groups" were "brutally attacked"; a 180-word report on the instituting of preliminary proceedings against a group of "Solidarity" functionaries of the Huta Katowice and against those responsible for the strikes in Lodz, Krakow and Gorzow Wielkoposki; a 150-word report on the letter of Polish women to the Military Council and a declaration of Poland's resistance fighters;

A 150-word report on a radio statement that the measures of the Military Council are "actively supported in all segments of the Polish population"; and 80-word report on a Polish television report that weapons and ammunition were found in the possession of two 'Solidarity' members in Piotrkow Trybunalsi; a 100-word report on a Polish radio announcement that "the local operative groups of the Polish Army have started to implement the next phase of their tasks" in connection with the state of emergency; a 240-word report giving the reactions of the Poltiburo of the Finnish Communist Party, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Mexico (PSUM) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 19-20 Dec on page 5 carries a 320-word ADN dispatch on Polish radio and television reports on the "determined action" of the security forces. The article also refers to ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and TRYBUNA LUDU reports from Friday that the security forces guarantee order in the cities and communities.

On the same page there is a 200-word ADN report on a Radio Warsaw commentary on the conflicts in the Wujek mine, stating that the state power is not yielding any longer and is making 'Solidarity' responsible for the death of people.

Also on page 5 there are two ADN reports on Poland: a 160-word report on the detainment of Miroslaw Krupinski, deputy chairman of the 'Solidarity' National Commission and on the institution of preliminary proceedings against a number of 'Solidarity' functionaries who "tried to provoke a strike" in the Ursus tractor factory; a 160-word report stating that the United Peasants Party of Poland, the Polish Women's League and the Polish League for National Defense supported the Military Council.

Also on the same page there are short ADN reports giving the reaction of the Canadian prime minister, the Communist Party of Peru, Vietnamese Catholics, the Communist Party of Lebanon, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and of Sam Goldbloom, president of the Congress of International Cooperation and Detente.

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 22 Dec 1981 on page 1 carries a 350-word ND/ADN report on the various activities in the GDR for solidarity aid for Poland, with an appeal to make contributions to the special account at the Berlin postal check office. The report refers to the FDGB solidarity aid of M10 million, and to Konrad Naumann, SED Central Committee Politburo member, thanking the drivers of the Berlin solidarity convoy at a meeting in the Berlin auto trans. The report then refers to the contributions to the special account made by the resistance fighters amounting to M50,000, by the GDR evangelical churches amounting to M200,000, and the collectives of the "Walter Ulbricht" Leuna plants amounting to M70,000.

The same paper on page 2 carries a 900-word ND report outlining the activities in the various Bezirke, like the organizing of convoys and the money paid into the special account.

Regarding the situation in Poland, the paper carries on page 1 a 240-word ND report stating that the Polish papers of Monday report a "growing understanding and increasing discipline." The report also refers to radio announcements of strikes in the "Ziemowit" and "Piast" mines, and to a PAP report on strikes in Huta Katowice.

The same paper on page 5 carries a 340-word ADN dispatch reviewing the Polish media reports. The article refers to statements by Gen Mieczyslaw Debicki, head of the Secretariat of the National Defense Committee, and Marian Wozniak, PZPR Central Committee secretary, that the situation is returning to normal.

On the same page there is also a 150-word ADN report on an interview of Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, in TRYBUNA LUDU of 21 December and on an announcement of the Polish radio that "at party assemblies the ideological work under the present conditions is given great importance."

The paper carries on the same page several reports on the situation in Poland and on international reaction: a 100-word ADN report on a Polish television statement that Kolodziej, leading functionary of the Gdansk 'Solidarity,' was detained at the CSSR border post when trying to illegally cross the border into the FRG; a 40-word ADN report stating that between 22 and 28 December travel restrictions will be eased; a 50-word ADN report on the statement of Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, and Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, in a letter to the PZPR.

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 23 Dec 81 on pages 1,2 carries a 400-word ADN report stating that the SED Central Committee and the GDR Government announced that M200 million in goods have been provided by the initiatives of the GDR citizens to the Polish People's Republic and referring to various convoys of trucks organized in the various GDR bezirke.

The same paper on page 2 carries a 350-word ADN/ND report on two Polish transport ships picking up foodstuffs from agricultural producer cooperatives of the Rostock Bezirk.

On the same page there is also a 240-word ADN report on Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, thanking the FDJ members, the Pioneer organization, the teachers and parents for their support of the solidarity action.

The paper on the same page also carries an 80-word ADN report on the arrival of the packages of the Berlin Pioneers in Warsaw and a 200-word report on an editorial in TRYBUNA LUDU of 22 December praising the aid which the GDR, the USSR and other socialist countries are giving Poland.

Regarding the situation in Poland NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carries on page 1 an 80-word ND report on Polish mass media reports of Tuesday stating that progress in economic life is noticed throughout Poland.

On page 5 the paper carries a 400-word ADN dispatch on Polish mass media reports stating that work has improved and that army and security organs "resolutely implement the provisions of the state of emergency." The report also refers to the international press conference of government spokesman Jerzy Urban who rejected Western announcements of a much larger number of casualties.

Also on page 5 there are three ADN reports: A 70-word report on the continuation of the "counterrevolutionary provocations" in the "Ziemowit" and "Piast" mines as well as in the Huta Katowice; a 100-word report on an article of Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, in Volksstimme; and a 100-word report on the statement of a member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

MEDIA REPORTAGE ON VARIOUS AID EFFORTS

Convoys Depart 23 Dec

LD231532 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Today, workers from all parts of the republic have been affirming their solidarity with People's Poland by giving further donations to the special account 555 at the national giro office in Berlin. The members of the Ernst Thaelmann combine parent enterprise in Magdeburg paid in M21,000. Collectives of the Umformtechnik combine, Erfurt, collected M18,000. So far over M1 million have been donated from this Thuringian Bezirk for Poland.

This morning truck convoys again left for the neighboring country from several GDR bezirke. Twenty trucks with aid goods for the neighboring voivodship of Gorzow were seen off in Frankfurt/Doer. The railwaymen of the border city are awaiting new wagons with donation consignments from the bezirke of Halle and Neubrandenburg to assemble them into special trains for the destination, Warsaw. Two transport ships of the friendly Polish naval fleet with aid goods from the GDR coastal bezirk left the port of Stralsund early this morning.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Aid

AU231224 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DETUSCHLAND in German on 21 December 81 on page 1 carries a 190-word ADN report on the arrival of a GDR solidarity consignment in Warsaw on Sunday afternoon. The goods were handed over on behalf of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to the Warsaw Mayor Jerzy Majewski who asked that his thanks be conveyed to the general secretary.

This report is followed by a 210-word ND/ADN report on the arrival of a truck convoy of the SED Berlin party organization in the Polish capital and on the arrival of various convoys with solidarity goods coming from the GDR bezirke to the partner voivodships.

Also on page 1 there are two ADN reports on the GDR solidarity aid for Poland: a 190-word report on the solidarity action of the FDJ and the "Ernst Thaelmann" Pioneer organization for Polish girls and boys noting the arrival of 130,000 packages in Warsaw; and a 160-word report on Konrad Naumann, SED Central Committee Politburo member, thanking the inhabitants of Berlin for their "great and manifold support."

The same paper on page 3 carries a 1,200-word Martin John and Horst Ifflaender report on the journey and the arrival of the convoy of 50 trucks in Warsaw, where it was welcomed by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, and the Warsaw Mayor Jerzy Majewski.

On the same page there are three 80-word statements -- by a young Thaelmann Pioneer, a teacher and a crane driver -- expressing their solidarity with the Poles. These reports are followed by two 200-word reports: one giving the viewpoint of young GDR citizens and the second expressing the thanks of three Poles for the GDR solidarity aid.

Also on the same page there is a 240-word report by Wally Perlitz on the activities of the Potsdam teachers, FDJ members and Pioneers for the Polish children noting that the teachers of this bezirk alone have contributed M131,000 to the solidarity aid.

On the same page the paper carries two other reports on the help for Poland: a 200-word report by Guenter Neumann on the activities of the working people in the Gera Bezirk and a 160-word unattributed report on the arrival of 130,000 packages from FDJ members and young pioneers in Warsaw.

The paper also carries on that page three 50-word ND reports on the solidarity consignment of the Wolgast Kreis and of Cottbus and on the Senftenberg brown coal combine and the Ruhland Metalleichtbaukombinat Veb inviting Polish children to spend vacations in the GDR.

Further on Aid

LD232020 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1746 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 23 Dec (ADN) -- Two further convoys of trucks with solidarity goods for Poland left Dresden today for Wroclaw and Jelenia Gora. Their loads include food, knitted outerwear and domestic chemical products. So far, 146 long-distance trucks of aid goods have gone from Dresden Bezirk to the neighboring voivodships and Warsaw. Other convoys left for Poland from Neubrandenburg, Wolgast (Rostock Bezirk) and Frankfurt/Oder early this morning.

Two Polish Navy transport ships left Stralsund today for home. They had been loaded yesterday with food from agricultural enterprises of Rostock Bezirk and with Christmas parcels for Polish children.

Today, too, many work teams and staffs of administrative, educational and cultural institutions reaffirmed their friendship and solidarity with the Polish people with money donations. In Erfurt Bezirk, for example, over M1 million has been donated so far. The amount sent to the special bank account number from the Carl Zeiss Jena combine has now reached M112,000.

Army Aid 24 Dec

LD241728 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 24 Dec (ADN) -- A truck convoy of the National People's Army [NVA] left for the People's Republic of Poland on 23 December. The convoy contains urgently needed relief goods for the socialist neighboring country. In this way the members of the NVA join the broad solidarity movement of GDR workers, pioneers and FDJ members with People's Poland patriots, thus proving themselves to be socialist internationalists of action.

On behalf of Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, the solidarity consignment will on arrival be handed over to the Polish comrades-in-arms.

Prior to departure, truck drivers Holger Hendel and Hans-Joachim Nast said that they felt bound in honor to demonstrate solidarity aid with the Polish fraternal people in this complicated situation. They promised to do everything in order to realize this obligation.

Additional Convoys 27 Dec

LD272332 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1559 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 27 Dec (ADN) -- Since 18 December 13 trains carrying solidarity goods for the Polish People's Republic have passed the Frankfurt/Oder border post. Truck convoys are being prepared in various bezirke, in Frankfurt/Oder for Gorzow province, in Schwerin for Pila and in Neubrandenburg for neighboring provinces. They will set out at the beginning of this week.

Just before Christmas truck convoys returned from the Polish People's Republic to Halle Bezirk. They had taken warm children's clothing and foodstuffs to the partner province of Katowice. The truck drivers reported that they had been warmly welcomed in Poland. The goods were passed on at once to hospitals, children's and old people's homes.

More business groups as well as cooperative peasants, artisans, teachers, students and sportsmen have sent money to the special account as a token of their solidarity with the fraternal Polish people.

USSR TO REDUCE CRUDE OIL DELIVERIES IN 82

LD210310 Hamburg DPA in German 1344 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Text] East Berlin, 20 Dec (DPA) -- In 1982 the GDR can count on considerably less Soviet oil than originally agreed. According to informed circles in East Berlin it is assumed at present that some 2 million tons less oil will be available than was at first thought. It was said this weekend that the industrial combines were notified in advance of this. At present the GDR meets 85 percent of its demand for crude oil from Soviet supplies.

Last year the Soviet Union supplied the GDR with 19 million tons of crude oil. For the period 1981-1985 earlier agreements envisaged a total of 95 million tons and thus the same yearly level of 19 million tons. According to unofficial information there is now talk of cuts between 8 and 12 percent for 1982.

State and party leader Erich Honecker gave the first hint of additional problems in the supply of raw materials at the end of November when he told the SED Central Committee that one has to manage "with even less raw materials" than was assumed a good 6 months ago at the 10th party congress in April 1981.

The Soviet Union already failed to meet earlier commitments to the GDR as regards automobiles, and drastically limited deliveries of the Lada model. In economic circles in the GDR this was explained as arising from GDR payment difficulties. For years the GDR had a considerable trade deficit with the USSR and made great efforts to achieve an equal balance.

DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND REPORTED, ANALYZED

Gornicki on Martial Law

LD262116 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Statement by Captain Wieslaw Gornicki, adviser to Polish Premier Jaruzelski, to Hungarian Radio and Television Warsaw correspondents -- date not given; recorded in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] First of all, I would like to warmly greet our Hungarian friends and express our thanks for the understanding shown by the Hungarian nation, the Hungarian party and the Hungarian Government in the difficult and complex Polish situation. I would also like to thank Hungarian citizens for their help. We highly appreciate this help. We would like to assure all the viewers of Hungarian Television that the Polish Government has done, under the circumstances, everything in its power to avoid the state of emergency. Unfortunately, however, there was no other possibility.

The state of emergency which has introduced a week ago is certainly not a lasting solution; it is merely a temporary solution. As the premier's adviser, I often participated in negotiations with the Solidarity leadership, including the last round of negotiations on 18 Novemeber. I can state with full responsibility that the government was still willing to take into consideration every justified demand and was willing to do this simply because the reform of our economic system and the changing of the forms of social life -- while remianing within a socialist framework -- appeared unavoidable for everyone and continue to appear so.

Unfortunately, the longer the negotiations dragged on, the more apparent it became that Solidarity was not at all interested in any negotiation or agreement with the government but, on the contrary, it began to change to a policy of open confrontation from the beginning of December. I can mention a somewhat grotesque but very tragic example to illustrate this. In southern Poland there is an enterprise which manufactures electric cables. I do not know exactly how much this factory manufactures but I assume that the output amounts to many kilometres of cable each day. Well, they intended to use 1 day's output of this factory to make clubs with. They cut the steel and copper cables into small pieces. Such clubs are not much less deadly than are guns.

In brief, what has happened in Poland is not the fault of the government but of the extremist groups in Solidarity. There was no other solution. The organs of power of the socialist state had nowhere left to retreat. Naturally, the state of emergency is not something to be advertised or praised. For every Polish citizen the situation involves a great many difficulties.

A situation such as this cannot solve anything in the long run; it cannot go on forever. The intention of the Military Council of National Salvation is to bring this state of emergency to an end as soon as possible. In fact, it can be revoked at any moment if law and order is restored in the country. I am convinced that this will come about soon.

It is my view that the extremists within Solidarity committed certain serious mistakes. However, the most significant mistake was that they overestimated their own strength. The so-called silent majority in Polish society has never rejected socialism but only its distortions. The overwhelming majority of people in the socialist society were quite clear about the fact that the hopes of the extremist forces and adventurists within Solidarity concerning a change in the postwar order of Europe, in the Yalta-Potsdam system, and the endeavor to tear Poland away from the Warsaw system, from the community of socialist countries, simply could not succeed.

From this point of view, it can be said with full responsibility that the overwhelming majority of Poles received the introduction of the state of emergency with a sense of relief -- not with pleasure. I, myself, despite the fact that I wear a uniform, face various problems which I did not face before. This is not a question of anyone applauding the state of emergency; what the relief is about is that the state of disintegration of the social -- and particularly of the economic life -- of Poland assumed such proportions that everything today is better than the way things were.

The time is now coming for the much longer second phase. Without going into the details, I would like to assure our Hungarian friends from whom we have learned a great deal -- especially on this occasion -- that in this second phase, in the process of the restoration of order in Poland and the reform of our mechanisms, the intentions of the Military Council of National Salvation are clear and unequivocal.

The military does not govern in Poland. In Poland the country is directed by the Council of State and the government. The military is only an executive organ which ensures the successful implementation of the decrees and orders of the legal organs of state power. The military in Poland has no ready made formulas for restoring the country's health; only society can have such a formula. This was clearly expressed in General Jaruzelski's first speech and was repeated in the statement by the Military Council of National Salvation. We shall repeat it as often as it appears necessary.

Socialism in Poland must be first and foremost the socialism of order, but socialism which is approved and built by the nation. In my opinion, it is precisely with our Hungarian friends that we understand each other best.

Martial Law, 'Burdens'

LD272317 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Dec 81

[From the "Evening Magazine" program; report by Szabolcs Szilagyi, Hungarian Radio's Warsaw correspondent]

[Text] Without telephone or telex, the functioning of the correspondent's office is proceeding slowly. By 2300 one has to return home from a press conference or a friend's house; otherwise one has to stay there overnight because of the curfew. The armored cars -- fewer and fewer each day -- and the military patrols are part of the street scene. PAP reports hourly that normal work is under way in those factories where work is not hindered by a shortage of raw materials.

It is too early as yet to be sanguine. The state of emergency introduced for the protection of law and order and genuine achievements and its very tough measures have not yet met with full sympathy in the whole of Polish society. As the reports of radio, television and the newspapers show, the most important things now are that the functioning of industry be restored as far as circumstances permit, that supplies should improve, that offices should function, in other words, that life in Poland should return to normal.

This is not something that can be accomplished in only one day. There is a struggle going on at present in the country -- even if not in the military sense of that word -- a struggle waged for understanding, trust and for avoiding the worst: civil war and complete economic catastrophe.

This the the highest national interest at present here, by the Vistula, and the uncomfortable measures are leading to the coming calm of consolidation.

The correspondent who lived through every hour of the worsening crisis during the past 16 months is at present functioning by rather unaccustomed rules. He must erase from his diary the deadlines for the Evening Magazine and the radio news broadcasts. This and many other burdens of the state of emergency must be borne by the foreign correspondent as well. This is natural. After all, the fate of Poland, of the Polish People's Republic, is at stake.

Situation 'Normalizing'

LD242100 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Summary] Seven hundred striking miners in Katowice stopped protest action this afternoon. Forces for maintaining order have removed strikers from Katowice steel factories. The situation is further normalizing in other parts of Poland; supplies in Warsaw stores have improved; the curfew has been lifted for the night throughout the country. The ban on private driving has been lifted in Opole.

"Party aktivs have been held in several voivodships. In Gdansk, under the chairmanship of the voivodship first secretary, Fiszbach, the results with which the local party organizations have carried out their activity since the introduction of the state of emergency were discussed. At the same time tasks were designated which are related to the restoration of party unity and party discipline.

U.S. RESPONSE TO POLISH EVENTS CRITICIZED

Reagan 'Isolated'

LD272146 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Christmas holidays were peaceful in Poland; admittedly, the Poles celebrated more modestly than usual, but, nonetheless, in line with traditions. Electricity and district heating functioned normally and work went on in the foodshops.

Well-meaning people all over the world wish success for the creation of order and social reconciliation in Poland. However, there are those who want the opposite. Foremost among them is U.S. President Reagan. On the eve of the holidays the President threatened sanctions against Poland. These included the stopping of credits and food aid and the suspension of fishing and air traffic agreements. Reagan set conditions for the Polish leadership. Let us now leave the question as to who gave Reagan the right to set conditions for other countries.

It would be interesting to know what conditions the President sets for, let us say, South Korea, Chile or even Turkey, which is a NATO member, and where a state of emergency has been in force for more than 1 year. I even remember that there was a time, hardly more than 10 years ago, when military patrols kept order in the streets of Washington as well. U.S. soldiers opened fire at Kent State University on U.S. students holding a demonstration. What is more, I remember that there was also a state of emergency in Reagan's state, California.

Reagan accused the Soviet Union of interference. The well-known Soviet foreign political specialist, Valentin Falin, explained on Moscow television yesterday what this interference consists of: the delivery of food and fuel, without which life would come to a halt within 2 days in Poland. The socialist countries are trying to help. These pictures [on television], for example, show aid being sent from Bulgaria. It is this sort of help that Warsaw now needs and not the help which Reagan offers.

Thus, PRAVDA was right to describe Reagan's speech as an ultimatum. PAP was right to say that it represented an unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of the country. According to the signs, Washington's friends are also aware of this and are not willing to support Reagan's diktat. The U.S. President has become almost completely isolated in the world with his threats.

Haig Statement Reported

LD252344 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The U.S. secretary of state has threatened sanctions against the Soviet Union for its support for the Polish state of emergency measures. Haig said that the United States will order sanctions against the Soviet Union even if the latter in practice does not intervene in the development of events in Poland. The AP news agency notes in connection with Haig's statement that, according to reliable administration sources, Washington for the time being does not intend to suspend the Geneva talks on arms limitation.

LOSONCZI, KADAR OBSERVE BREZHNEV BIRTHDAY

Greetings Message

AU211445 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Dec 81 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Soviet Union Supreme Soviet, Moscow.

Esteemed Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev: We greet you with sincere respect on your 75th birthday on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian communists and our working people as a whole.

The Hungarian people, who are building socialism, and the Hungarian communists are aware of and highly value the fact that, since your early youth, you have participated with revolutionary enthusiasm and communist consistency, in the struggle to realize the noble endeavors of the Leninist party of the Soviet communists and the Soviet state, in the building of the world's first socialist society, in creating its economic and defensive might and in the gigantic battles of the Great Patriotic War to protect the historical achievements of socialism. You have played an outstanding role in the country's reconstruction and in imparting to it a dynamic development, in strengthening the socialist features of party and state life and in consolidating conditions for peaceful creative work.

Faithful to Leninist principles, as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, you are organizing and directing the history-shaping activity of the Soviet communists and the Soviet people.

On the occasion of your birthday, we greet with particular esteem in your person a close and true friend of the Hungarian people and a convinced supporter of fraternal cooperation between the Hungarian and Soviet communists and our countries and peoples.

We greet an outstanding combatant of the cause of communism and socialism who, through his indefatigable activity, is fruitfully promoting the deepening of friendship among the countries of the socialist community and the further development of mutually beneficial multifaceted cooperation among our peoples. We greet a true internationalist who, on firm principled foundations, is successfully striving to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement and the world revolutionary forces.

You, esteemed Comrade Brezhnev, have rightly won wide international recognition and respect in the worldwide struggle underway for the liberty, independence and progress of peoples, for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, for averting the danger of a nuclear war threatening mankind and for creating lasting peace.

We wish you with all our hearts, dear Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, personal happiness, good health and undiminished creative strength for your activity at the head of the CPSU and the Soviet state -- for the good of the great Soviet people, our socialist community, the international communist and workers movement and the peoples desirous of lasting and firm peace.

Budapest, 19 December 1981.

[Signed] On behalf of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic:
Pal Losonczi, chairman

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee: Janos Kadar, first secretary

Kadar Speech Reported

LD200012 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Excerpt] At the Moscow reception held on the occasion of Brezhnev's 75th birthday, Soviet leaders and the representatives of the fraternal socialist countries greeted the CPSU general secretary and head of state.

Among other things, Janos Kadar said that in the person of Comrade Brezhnev we greet the loyal son of the Soviet fraternal party, the staunch and warm-hearted internationalist and the worthy representative and continuator of Lenin's heritage. The Hungarian communists will never forget, and our people sincerely hold in great esteem the fact that we can always know Leonid Brezhnev's understanding support and willingness to help us. We regard with respect his outstanding personal merits gained in the development of the multifaceted and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet and Hungarian parties, in the intensification of fraternal friendship between our peoples, and we hold it in internationalist appreciation and friendly sentiments.

HAVASI RECEIVES VISITING CPSU DELEGATION

LD202122 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 Dec (MTI) -- At the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee, a delegation of party workers of the CPSU CC sojourned in Hungary between Dec 14 and 20. Under the leadership of Yuriy Belik, first deputy of the head of the CPSU CC Department of Planning and Financial Organs, the delegation was studying the party guidance of Hungarian economic policy.

The delegation was seen by Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

NEMETH RETURNS FROM SFRY OFFICIAL VISIT 19 DEC

LD192320 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 19 Dec (MTI) -- Karoly Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the CC, paid a visit to Yugoslavia from Dec 16 till 19 at the invitation of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. He had talks with Dr Dusan Dragosavac, president of the Presidium of the LCY CC, and with Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY CC. In the Macedonian Socialist Republic he had discussions with Angel Cemerski, member of the LCY CC Presidium and president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia. He visited the metal works named after Josip Broz Tito and saw the sights of the town of Skopje, rebuilt after a devastating earthquake.

Karoly Nemeth arrived back in Budapest on Saturday afternoon.

MILITARY COUNCIL MEETING 23 DECEMBER REPORTED

LD242023 Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Dec (PAP) -- Last night, members of the Martial Council of National Redemption reported to Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski on the implementation of the tasks set so far at a successive plenary meeting of the council chaired by the general.

The council examined the current situation in Poland and its international aspects, and set new tasks in the military, social, political and economic areas in the immediate future.

JARUZELSKI CHRISTMAS EVE ADDRESS TO NATION

LD242044 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Christmas eve radio address by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, premier and chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, presumably in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Dear countrymen. I turn to you, on a day which is deeply rooted in Polish tradition, in Polish custom. I turn to those who are spending this evening with their families, and to those who are remaining at posts of work and service.

This year's holidays are being celebrated in particular circumstances. I realize how the rigors of martial law have complicated everyday life, how they have thwarted personal plans. The truth, however, is this: that the transitional burdens, rigors and restrictions are decisively a lesser evil than the fratricidal conflict which not so long ago stood at our (?threshold).

In the history of Poland, it has been necessary on more than one occasion to choose, not between good and evil, but between a greater and lesser evil. We have carried out this choice. I believe that the future will judge this choice justly.

Up till the last minute we did not part with the hope that the emergency measures would not be necessary. We made many efforts to lead to national accord, to implement the essential reforms by means of legislative processes.

No one has the right to accuse the government of striving toward confrontation.

I believed that a compromise way out of the dangerous crisis would be found. But for there to be accord there has to be good will among all partners. There was a lack of this good will. We now know who did not display this, who proclaimed the confrontation. The proofs are generally known. They constitute a sad and indelible portion of Polish history. On 13 December, there was no longer any other way out. Let every one of us reply honestly today, in his own conscience, to the question of where Poland was going. How long could the country, torn daily by strikes, aflame with tensions, sinking in a climate of artificially fanned hatred, have continued to survive? I also direct this question to those foreign circles who several days ago were still advising Poles to go to work, to introduce order and discipline. Today the same circles noisily deplore the steps which were taken to this very end. One can get the impression that someone is keen on Poland being a country of chaos, an insolvent debtor, the sick organ of the continent. I state with total resolution that the reports that there have allegedly been dozens or hundreds of fatalities, that thousands of detained people are being kept in the frost, beaten up and tortured, are lies. One cannot hide the truth about Poland within Poland. Sooner or later it will be known to the whole world. The introduction of martial law represented a profound shock for the whole of society, for all citizens. We desired that not a single drop of blood be shed. We counted on that. Unfortunately, we did not succeed in avoiding that. We all grieve over the events that took place on the site of the Wujek mine. That is also my personal drama. Those ringleaders who organized and carried out acts of aggression, who broke the law of the state of war, bear the responsibility for what happened.

Citizens, the process of disintegration of the state has been halted. An end has been put to anarchy. The personal security of citizens is improving. The country has repulsed the first attack of the winter. The prevention of confrontation has removed a danger whose real character and seriousness are still not fully comprehended everywhere. As long as it is necessary we shall demand the observance of the severe orders of the martial law. At the same time I declare that this state of martial law will not be in force 1 hour longer than necessary. The sooner the ground is moved from under the feet of irresponsible agitators and of the organizers of conspiratorial activities the sooner full calm and order will return and normalization take place.

The only way open to Poland is the path of joint and unified effort by the whole community, the path of deepening socialist democratization. Nobody intends to nullify the fundamental principles of renewal; we do not want vengeance and a lowly squaring of accounts. There will be no military dictatorship in socialist Poland, but there will also be no room for dismantling the state and for the supporters of confrontation.

In the near future we shall present a program of our intentions for the community. Its purpose will be to make permanent the fundamental socialist achievements of the working class, of peasants and of all the working people, including the preservation and improvement of those positive transformations which appeared in our public life in the last 12 or so months.

It is difficult today to ask for the credit of confidence. Let deeds and not words support us. We shall resolutely, step by step, create institutional guarantees so that never again can there be a repetition of the evil and distortions which accumulated before August 1980 nor a repetition of the threats brought by the recent period.

In our socioeconomic system there is a place for self-managing and really independent trade unions, independent of the state employer, but also independent of the manipulations and terror of irresponsible politicoes. There is a place for workers' self-management. The rich variety of forms of social, scientific and cultural life does not contradict the intentions of the authorities.

The issue of the Catholic Church and the discharging of its mission are guaranteed by the Constitution. The same goes for other denominations. The putting into order and modernization of socialist structures of our public life will proceed arm in arm with respect for the best Polish national traditions formed over the generations.

A valuable source of inspiration can and will be found in the 100-year-old history of the Polish workers' movement. The chance for national accord is thus still open. What is more, it may, at present, prove to be more realistic than before.

Dear countrymen. Today I cannot wish you a merry and prosperous Christmas. This year's holidays are modest but they are safe. I wish that the difficulties and restrictions of the current period should not take away your deserved rest.

I wish those who are in service today endurance in fulfilling the duties entrusted to them. May this family holiday, the holiday of reconciliation and peace, inscribe itself in our memories as the beginning [as heard] of the road to a better and happier Poland. May the feeling of fraternity and community of the Polish destiny triumph over bitterness and fear of tomorrow. Poland is one. We must lift it out of misfortune through common effort.

No one will help us out in this. Let us extinguish the hotbeds of trouble, strife and hatred in our home. May the festive period promote wise and patriotic reflections.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES POGGI, LETTER FROM POPE

LD241636 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received the head of the team for questions of permanent working contacts between the Apostolic See and the Government of the Polish People's Republic, who is staying in Poland, Archbishop Luigi Poggi, papal nuncio for special tasks.

Archbishop Luigi Poggi handed over a letter from Pope John Paul II to the chairman of the Council of Ministers in the course of the talks. The premier thanked him and assured him that he would study with attention the opinions contained in the letter.

The subjects of the talk were the situation in Poland, Polish-Vatican relations and the shaping of relations between the state and the church in our country. The talk passed off in a spirit of mutual understanding.

Minister and head of the office for religious matters, Jerzy Kuberski, took part in the meeting. Prelate Janusz Bolonek, auditor of the nunciature, also took part.

OFFICIAL NOTES REACTION TO MARTIAL LAW

LD271328 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1054 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Unidentified correspondent's interview with an official of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs -- date and place not specified; live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] The recent events in Poland, the introduction of martial law in our country, are Poland's internal affair, matters exclusive to our nation, matters for Poles. But after all, Mr Minister, these events have their international repercussions -- what I would call their international scope.

[Answer] Before I answer the question and give my considerations and reflections on this subject, I want to note positively that television is renewing the magazine: Poland and the World. As a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I must react to that positively, since every country -- and Poland is no exception -- should avoid a view which is centered on itself.

[Question] We are somewhat too numerous a people, somewhat too large a country, having too large a potential at its disposal, for us to be able to hide away in the wings.

[Answer] Indeed. After all, the entire Polish crisis has been observed for 16 months with a great deal of attention. And what happened during the last 2 weeks is a kind of crucial stage of this crisis. One has to realize that this is all happening in an international situation which is very tense, which is characterized as a situation in which the threat of war has grown compared with a few years ago. Here, the Polish situation really does take on another dimension against this background. That is what I say in reply to the question why the interest is understandable. But now for the reactions. How (?was it received)? I would like to say the reactions are very varied. As far as the socialist countries are concerned, the concern and unease over the events in Poland and over the development of the Polish crisis are nothing new. They have long accompanied our development and especially when the threat to socialism has become greater and greater. And after all, in the recent period that threat had already, let me say, even been officially declared. Obviously, Poland, as a member of the Warsaw treaty is a very important link in the whole defense system of the socialist states. Our allies cannot be indifferent to what happens in Poland. From that point of view, but not from it alone, but in the political, economic, and every respect. [sentence as heard]

[Question] There can't be a Warsaw treaty without Warsaw.

[Answer] That's it. That is also why I think one can say -- trying to produce a synthesis to bring out [word indistinct] of the attitudes of the socialist states -- that the introduction of martial law was received as a resolute move to repulse the threat to socialism, and this was supported. Together with this, it was stressed everywhere that this is a solution using one's own forces.

ANOTHER ENVOY DEFECTS; PROPERTY CONFISCATED

Ambassador to Japan Defects

LD250754 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Zdzislaw Rurarz, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Tokyo, has committed an act of treachery by asking for asylum at the American Embassy in Tokyo. According to competent Japanese sources, he has been transported to the United States. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has asked the chief military prosecurtor to start penal proceedings.

Property in Warsaw Confiscated

LD272028 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] [unidentified correspondent] We are on a quiet Warsaw street, not very well known even to native inhabitants of the capital, not far from the Sluzew Nad Dolinka estate. This architecturally original villa, with two stories, with an area of over 230 square meters, was built by the former ambassador to Japan, Zdzislaw Rurarz. Two garages, three bathrooms, several hundred....

[Second unidentified correspondent interrupting] On 26 December the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office issued a decision concerning the impounding of the assets [words indistinct], in connection with the investigation being conducted into the case against Zdzislaw Rurarz, who is suspected of committing a crime under the terms of article 122 of the penal code.

In connection with the decision, action was initiated today, 27 December, by the plenipotentiary officials of the Warsaw district Finance Department. I should like to mention that this kind of crime carries a possible fine of up to Zl million as well as confiscation of all property.

I have had a look at the building, and all the rooms in it. It would be possible to organize at least a two-room kindergarten here. If the rooms were made available to the education administration, several dozen children could be attending kindergarten here in just a few days. Here is the interior of the villa belonging to the former Polish ambassador to Japan, Zdzislaw Rurarz.

And this is the interior, full of good pictures and souvenirs from various diplomatic posts abroad, of the apartment at Filtrowa Street in Warsaw. It belonged to the former Polish ambassador to the United States, Romuald Spasowski.

Here too, in accordance with an order by the Military Prosecutor's Office, the owner's assets have been confiscated. The apartment has an area of over 80 square meters. It is part of a villa occupied by other tenants.

MILITARY COUNCIL MEMBER VISITS SOLDIERS ON 24 DEC

LD242322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] The soldiers of the Polish People's Army spent Christmas Eve this year from home and family and the barracks of their mother units.

For many of them, this evening was a time of responsible service at various posts. Those who could, gathered according to the traditional custom at festive tables at the places where they are posted.

The soldiers within the area of the capital's garrison were visited by Wing Cdr Pilot Miroslaw Hermaszewski, member of the Military Council of National Salvation, and by representatives of the leadership of the youth movement, together with the chairman of the Youth Council of the Polish Army, Maj Tadeusz (Rzeposki). Wing Commander Hermaszewski passed on to the soldiers from Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and all members of the council the best of festive wishes. We are spending this Christmas, Miroslaw Hermaszewski said among other things, in one big soldierly family. We draw closer in thought to our families who have remained at home and to the persons who are closest to us. Let us remember that our service fills us with pride and honor (?today).

CHRISTMAS MESSAGES OF GLEMP, POPE GIVEN

Glemp Message at 24 Dec

LD250056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2304 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Message by Polish Primate Glemp to all Poles read by an unidentified church chaplain at the Christmas Eve holy mass celebrated at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw -- date of message not given]

[Excerpts] Sisters and brothers, with a brieved heart I am writing to you, my beloved, with Christmas and new years greetings. I am writing after the introduction of the state of martial law and I do not know what kind of mood will prevail among the Polish families during Christmas. You, too, with anxiety, are waiting for Christmas and are asking yourselves: What can the primate of Poland tell us in the face of suspension of many civic rights and the threat of fratricidal struggle? There is one fundamental wish: May the state of martial law end before Christmas. I share all the amxieties, fears and pains of the Polish families. I live through those days not just as a concerned citizen, concerned with a divided nation, but also in bishopric solicitude for the good of the souls.

The pastoroal bishopric tasks are joined by the duty of the primate, which, through centuries-old traditions tells me to join in the public troubles of the whole country and to speak to those who do not believe that God exists, to those who quarrel that accord is needed, to those who are proud that humility is truth itself, to those who that love is the greatest value. But what can be said to the families who have been harmed, disappointed, imprisoned and slandered without good reason? They are waiting for good wishes, too, for the wishes which would formulate the program for an improvement of their fate.

What facts give hope, what sources of optimism can be pointed out to them? Only this perhaps, brothers, that we have life, life given by God.

This is the assurance of Christ, born in the manger, and crucified on the cross of Calvary. He became the Lord of our hearts. There will be no end to his reign in our hearts. Jesus said to the startled apostles, let your heart not be anxious. You believe in God and believe in me.

In faith and trust let us look at the manger. Omnipotent God becomes a poor child sentenced to the uncertainty of tomorrow. He has only his beloved mother; his devoted guardish Saint Joseph; the solidarity of the shepherds, the wandering intellectuals and the wise men. This is not much in view of the absolutism of Herod. But it is enough in view of the social needs of God, the baby. In the biblical secenario of the birth, there are angels singing "glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace to men of good will". What is striking is the interdependence of this glory [word indistinct] and peace of men on earth.

What optimism can we draw from the mystery of the birth of Christ? First there is the fact that God is with us, and (?that) through humanity he will remain with us as Jesus Christ. I am with you, for all days, until the end of the world. Second, God is with us and changes man and directs (?him). Man can change. He can become good and sensitive to other men. This is a great truth of Christmas.

I hope that all of you become aware of the presence of God in the world and among men. This leads to faith in man, to faith in the fact that he may be converted, be good and righteous.

Under the influence of the truth about Christmas, people of opposing camps should not undermine the credibility of their neighbor at every step.

The new year is before us, jubilee of the Jasna Gora Madonna, and the year of the repeat visit of the holy father to Poland. May this be a year of rebuilding following the period of martial law.

We realise that this will be a year of self-sacrifice, of shortages, of self-dedication, of mortification. All this can be endured if only the socioeconomic organism begins to function within a framework of the August renewal. Then, day by day there will be a true reconstruction. We cherish the hope for supernatural help, for an anniversary miracle, which, by entrusting ourselves to the Holy Madonna will be granted. This miracle will be the unification of the nation and peace in the homeland.

It is however necessary that we should -- on the national level -- fulfill the demands, which are required by human dignity, and by respect for all rights connected with civic and religious bearing.

We kneel before the crib (?for) the understanding of God with man; we bow to every man of good will, and we ask God for credibility in words and deeds of our political leaders. We pray that the man in the street will be able to say: Glory to God in the highest peace on earth.

With hesitation, as it were, we offer the consecrated Christmas eve wafer to our fellow Pole, that he should break it according to tradition. He will not eat his fill with it: but let him break it. This means more than a lecture about unity. This broken wafer unites while slogans which should unite rather than divide.

We will share the wafer, the white wafer from the plate given to us by mothers. Let us look at other plates, perhaps they will not be as full as ours byt they will not be empty. Let us rember that our neighbors' plates must not be empty.

May this evening be peaceful because God is being born and all power disappears [Polish carol verse]. In the flicker of the Christmas tree lights the matters which have not been resolved will be seen. Perhaps in the flicker of these lights we will see the solution for many of these problems.

Beloved brothers and sisters, may my words of good wishes which originate from hope, and which I send in love, reach the people of our capital who are praying to their patron, the mother of God the merciful. May these words reach Gniezno and Kujawy, the holy Warmia and the coast, farmers and craftsmen, steel factories and shipyards, airports and transportation centers. May these words speak about God who became man so that man can feel himself to be the child of God. I bless you with all my heart.

[Signed] Primate of Poland Archbishop Jozef Glemp

Pope Expresses 'Hope'

LD251554 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] In Rome Pope John II celebrated Christmas Eve midnight mass in St. Peter's Basilica.

On Christmas Eve, Pope John Paul II met the Polish people living in Rome. He shared the Christmas wafer with those taking part in the meeting and then sang carols with them. Praying, the pope said: Accompanying my wishes for all Poles is anxiety, but also hope and confidence.

John Paul II expressed the desire that in the present crisis in Poland, Poles should be the sole people moulding their fate.

More on Pope's Message

LD251930 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] As press agencies report from the Vatican, Pope John Paul II said in his traditional Christmas message "Urbi et Orbi" that he is worried by the image of a world in which, in the name of various economic, imperialist and strategic interests, people are deprived of work, persecuted, deprived of the right to a homeland and condemned to hunger. In a short statement in Polish, the pope conveyed greetings to every person in Poland.

REPORTAGE ON ZIEMOWIT, PIAST COAL MINES

150 in Ziemowit, 900 in Piast

LD241422 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Our correspondent in Katowice, Jerzy Ciurlok, reports that most families from Ziemowit colliery in Tychy will spend the holidays together with their fathers, sons and wives.

From the morning hours onward, despite chicanery from Solidarity extremists, miners continued to reach the surface. Only 150 of them were underground in this colliery 1 hour ago.

In the other Tychy colliery, the Piast, another group of 30 persons reached the surface at 1330. Some 900 miners remain underground.

Our Katowice correspondent also reports that a group of specialists began to clear explosive charges at the Ziemowit colliery this afternoon. It is thought that more than 13.5 tons of these charges have been accumulated underground in this colliery.

'A Few' Remain Underground

LD241646 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Most of the miners at the Ziemowit mine in Tychy will spend the holiday with those near to them.

Today, there are two pieces of good news from Katowice. From the Ziemowit mine in which, yesterday evening, there were still 1,001 miners -- this morning whole groups began to come to the surface. At 1500 only a few people still remained underground.

Experts have begun defusing the explosive devices prepared by the Solidarity vigilantes. Underground, in their hands, there were 10.5 tons of explosive materials. The persuasion and talks of the military commissar, and of the members of the colliery management, with those who detained the miners underground by coercion and fear, helped here.

And so, while I send this account, probably all of the Ziemowit miners are at their homes and the Christmas Eve supper table. Unfortunately, we do not have such optimistic news from the Piast colliery, where at 1500, 1,298 people were still underground. Today 192 miners got out and came to the surface: Does this then mean that the remainder are to spend Christmas Eve and the holiday without their relatives, far from their families, underground in the mine?

And here is the second piece of good news: calm in the Katowice steelworks. As we have already reported, yesterday functionaries of the Citizens Militia, together with soldiers of the Polish Army, reinstated order there. Around 2,000 employees of the combine, from the departments of the furnaces, the steel mills and the rolling mills, who had been detained by extremists of the former Works Commission of Solidarity, were set free by the forces of order and have set off for their homes.

A large group of steelworkers had already succeeded in getting out from the departments guarded by the extremist activists of Solidarity. During the action at the Katowice steelworks, nobody was hurt. Some of the organizers of the work boycott were detained. Today a search is in progress for a few more of them. Investigations have been commenced.

In Katowice, as in other towns of the voivodship, it is calm. The streets are empty. In the houses the lights on the Christmas trees have been lit. May this calm also come to reign for good in our hearts and minds as well; may national accord come about as quickly as possible.

'Probably All' Left Ziemowit

LD242056 Warsaw PAP in English 2016 GMT 24 Dec 81

["Miners Leave Protest-Bound Collieries" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Dec (PAP) -- A further 700 miners held underground as a result of a week-long action by Solidarnosc extremists came to the surface today (1300 hrs local time) at the Ziemowit colliery in the Silesian city of Tychy. There are still 217 miners underground but the majority of Ziemowit's workforce will spend Christmas at home.

Some miners from the nearby Piast colliery have also been coming up.

It was announced later that probably all miners had left the Ziemowit colliery and came to the surface.

Rescue teams are making checks in the corridors and pits occupied for more than a week by miners to make sure that nobody was left behind.

Health condition of the miners is good and all of them will be able to join their families at the Christmas meal, a PAP correspondent was told.

All Ziemowit Miners Out

LD242316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Everything indicates on Christmas eve that all the miners of Ziemowit colliery have come to the surface in good health and returned to their relatives.

We recall that the organizers of the work boycott had detained part of the workforce there for more than a week, contrary to all logic and the protests of the overwhelming majority of the miners themselves and of all sensible people.

The news of the (?return) of the Ziemowit miners to their homes was received by their relatives with joy: mothers, wives, children, and the family with whom they were able to sit down at the common Christmas eve supper, to share common reflections and to spend the holiday together.

This news was received with relief by their colleagues at work and by the entire anxious community. In order to obtain absolute certainty that none of the Ziemowit miners detained underground had not remained underground, a precise penetration of the underground area has been carried out since midday by groups, numbering a dozen or so persons, of rescuers, foremen and miners.

While most of us were preparing ourselves and were sitting down to the Christmas eve supper, the most remote areas of the colliery were checked: inter alia, several dozen kilometers of subterranean paths. By 1900 today, none of the persons detained there had been found. The search, including the region of extraction shaft No 3, and the ventilation shaft, lasted until late in the night.

The number of miners detained underground in the Piast colliery has also decreased. Every so often, groups of miners from this colliery come to the surface. By the evening, however, there was a lack of more precise information about the situation in Piast.

Ziemowit Mine Update 25 Dec

LD252022 [Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1900 GMT on 25 December carries a 16-minute report on the current situation at the Ziemowit mine. Wives of the miners still down below can be heard saying that their menfolk should be with them enjoying Christmas. One of the miners on the surface can be heard saying that some of the miners below are afraid to come up because certain people have told them that they will be shot once they appear at the mine surface. The miner maintains that he believes that most of the miners still below are not remaining there of their own free will. He expresses surprise that after so many supplications, even from the church, the miners are still staying below. He says that it is a lie that the mines are surrounded by the army and militia and he believes that the miners should be told the truth.

Some women are then interviewed about difficulties in obtaining phone connections to the miners still down below.

Two miners who came to the surface on 18 and 22 December respectively are interviewed. They say that there are a few leaders down below who are inciting the others and the ringleaders are not letting those miners who wish to come up do so. They say that there are 1,507 kilograms of explosives below. The miners who do make it to the surface are surprised that they are not being arrested and this attests to the fact that lies are being spread below.

1,276 Detained in Piast Mine

LD251844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] At the Ziemowit mine in Tychy, which all the miners left yesterday, specialist teams worked today to prepare the mine for resuming coal extraction. Unfortunately, the situation at the neighboring Piast mine has not altered in any fundamental manner. Today, by the afternoon, a group of several miners had come to the surface. At present 1,276 detained miners are staying down below. This is more than 300 persons fewer than 2 days ago.

Katowice Situation 25 Dec

LD251542 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Correspondent (Maciej Bakes) reports from Katowice that the first day of Christmas weekend in Katowice Voivodship has been marked by family gatherings. There is not much traffic in the streets of Katowice, Gliwice and Zabrze and in other large urban centers. Christmas day traditionally means gathering in homes. However, not everyone is celebrating Christmas. Work at industrial plants with a continuous production cycle is going on all the time. This is the case at the hot-rolling sections in the Katowice Voivodship steelworks, among others. Railwaymen and power industry workers are at work. Heat and power generating plant workers are on duty all the time as are other workers in other service areas on whose work a calm Christmas depends.

This afternoon Lt Gen Roman Paszkowski, the Katowice voivoda, visited soldiers on duty in the Katowice steelworks combine. On behalf of the Military Council of National Salvation and Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, he personally thanked the soldiers and also the law enforcement services of the militia for restoring order and calm in an efficient manner in the steelworks and for carrying out their operations in such a way that no one suffered injury.

Silesian Atmosphere Serious

LD252114 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Dec 81

[By unidentified Warsaw television correspondent]

[Excerpts] Roman Paszkowski, Katowice Voivoda, lieutenant general of the Air Force, visited Katowice steelworks on the first day of the holiday. He met soldiers from the division deployed on guard and protection duties here; he thanked them for their exemplary action of unblocking the enterprise.

The atmosphere throughout Silesia is festive, although it is also full of seriousness. We still remember the more than 1,200 miners imprisoned underground at the Piast mine. Bishop Janusz Zimniak, together with three priests from the local parishes, visited them today. Masses were celebrated. The appeal by Bishop Herbert Bednorz, Katowice diocese ordinary, calling for a halt to the protest, was read out. However, this failed to bring about the desired result. When miners came up to the surface at the Ziemowit colliery we expected that the group from the Piast colliery would give up the action of continuing the occupation of the exploration level. Unfortunately, this affair continues to cast a shadow on the holidays, which are always celebrated very festively among families in Silesia.

1,166 Underground at Piast

LD261154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Today is the second day of the Christmas holiday period. In keeping with tradition this day is taken up with visiting our families and friends. The weather is conducive for visits and also for talks.

However, the family atmosphere of Christmas which is so characteristic for Silesia, is being clouded over as our correspondent Janusz Kucik reports, by the tragedy of the miners at the Piast colliery. Dramatic telephone conversations between mothers, sisters and wives and the miners detained underground are still going on. Contacts are being made more difficult because the organizers of the protest are still trying to misinform and intimidate those being kept below. At present, 1,166 miners are underground in the Piast colliery. This number is getting smaller with every passing day. Yesterday, 20 miners managed to get through to the Ziemowit colliery via an underground drift [przekop]. They were very surprised to meet there only mining rescue teams and maintenance groups. During the night the director of the Piast colliery established telephone contact with the leaders of the protest action. The conversation is fruitless. However, there is hope that the Piast protest will be over by the new year. In all other mines maintenance gangs are working.

Preparations are in progress at the Ziemowit colliery to resume extraction Monday. The Katowice steelworks where the starting up and synchronization of systems on the so-called steel line continues will likewise be resuming normal production Monday.

Steelworkers, power industry workers and workforces at continuous production plants are working normally in Silesia. Railwaymen are taking advantage of orders which are reduced over the Christmas period and are catching up on transportation arrears which are now very small. Mines have ordered trucks for today to load about 31,000 tons of coal from dumps and storage yards. The most difficult working conditions are for railwaymen in the area of Bielsko Biala and Kedzierzyn, where workforces from local factories are helping to clear snow.

Despite the holiday, power stations and heat and energy generating plants are working normally; trains and buses are running, furnaces in iron and steel works have not gone out, and various emergency services and repair gangs are on duty. However, the majority of industrial enterprises have stopped production for the holiday period. Energy demand has dropped and we can expect there will be no restrictions in energy supplies.

Piast Miners Interviewed

LD261740 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1535 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Excerpts] (?At present), 1,166 miners are underground at the Piast mine. Dramatic telephone calls between them and their families are continuing. However, even this contact is being hampered by the organizers of the protest who are keeping the miners underground. They are striving to misinform and intimidate those who are in the mine, and are disseminating reports that the militia and the army are waiting for those who come out, that there may be beatings up and even shootings. Yesterday, 20 Piast miners came out through an underground cross-heading through the Ziemowit mine. On reaching the surface they met mine rescue teams and maintenance services. Let us listen to the conversation of Zdislaw (?Rebieta) and those who came out earlier and made it home in time for their supper on Christmas Eve.

[Begin recording] [Interviewer] On the 22d, together with a group of 20 miners, among others Ireneusz Tec came to the surface of the Piast mine. Here's his story:

[Tec] I wanted to come up earlier. I went out at 1000 and they [?let me out] though they said that the militia and the militarized sections of the militia [zomo] were standing in front of the mine and would beat me up. I went up and I went to the foreman and got a pass and they took me to the dressing station where they examined me and then I went home. There's nothing, no militia, nothing. Underground they said: Militia [word indistinct] the army. I don't believe it.

[Question] Did you go home to your family?

[Answer] I live in the miner's hostel. My family are on the coast. I'm just on my way to them.

[Question] Were you threatened with reprisals if you went out?

[Answer] They said if we go out, the militia would be waiting down by the shaft. They told us we'd meet up on the surface when we all go out [words indistinct].

[Question] Could you now answer us this question: Is it easy to leave? Are those who leave under any pressure?

[Answer] When we left a group of 20 people slandered us, they swore at us and they started to spit on us while we were entering the cage.

[Question] What was your first impression when you came to the surface?

[Answer] [words indistinct] they were talking about the militia, about the army being in position everywhere. I went up and there was no militia, nothing. All I saw was a lot of women standing at the telephones ringing their husbands.

[Question] They are waiting for their fathers?

[Answer] Yes.

[Different voice] I am a mine foreman. I have been working all the time, since 14 December. I went with a few miners to the section to tour the works. We have here a great water danger and therefore we had to check. At 0500 I went up with a few miners. The rest stayed below. And since that day I have been working the third shift. We have not always been allowed to go below, only through the way indicated by the people remaining below. Concretly speaking they have been selecting the name of the mine foreman who is to go down. We stayed on the surface.

[Question] What is the physical and mental condition of the miners below?

[Answer] Well, as for the physical and mental condition of those who have come up -- I had to issue passes, take them to the medical officer, to the dressing room, to be examined -- there were some who felt well and some who felt a little weak.

After being examined all of those who came up went home under their own steam. The miners at level 650 in the Piast mine are obsessed with the notion that the colliery is surrounded by troops, by zomo units. This is unture; the men who come up go home peacefully, without any reprisals. It is also untrue that the men are there are afraid to leave the gate, afraid thay they will be detained. There are no reprisals. The Piast mine is free and the miners can and must go home because it is Christmas. Families are waiting for them. [end recording]

Katowice Steelworks Working

LD272048 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Report by television reporter Henryk Wawrzyniak on situation in Silesia -- live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Words indistinct] mothers, wives and children continue to wait at the surface for the return of their dear ones, but -- terrorized and intimidated by extremists from (?the leadership) of Solidarity -- they are afraid to return to the surface. They have been underground in the Piast colliery since 14 December. There were 1,111 down this morning. [Word instinct] all of them succumbed to terror. Before noon a further 8 miners came up. In the afternoon 1,103 remained underground.

Since the beginning of this tragedy, 747 people have succeeded in returning to the surface.

Yesterday, Dr Jerzy Bereszko, the mine's medical officer, went underground; he noted that the greater part of these miners should undergo hospital treatment or at least qualify for medical leave. Only 20 per cent of them are in good health.

In the Ziemowit colliery, on the other hand, preparations for normal [word indistinct] are in course. A meeting of the workforce will be held tomorrow. The duty [word indistinct] of the colliery told me in a telephone conversation that the appliances and machines of the mine, its [word indistinct] engines, which have remained idle for such a long time, could be unfit for use. Therefore, one cannot expect full daily output which, under normal conditions, amounts at Ziemowit to 23,500 tons of coal.

The Katowice steelworks is returning to normal work as far as the so-called steel line is concerned. This includes transloading of ore (?at) [word indistinct], the [word indstinct] high oven -- now undergoing an overhaul -- steel mill, and [word indistinct] rolling mill. Production has already started at many other departments.

1,090 Still Down Piast Mine

LD272320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] According to information obtained from a PAP correspondent, there were still 1,090 miners underground in the Piast mine at 2200 GMT tonight.

Doctors and auxiliary personnel of the health service are constantly ready to offer aid to the miners who have decided to come up and who need such aid.

REPORTAGE ON SITUATION IN WARSAW, ELSEWHERE

LD271740 Warsaw PAP in English 1633 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Dec (PAP) -- This Sunday is the successive day of rest for most Poles, after the two days of Christmas. [sentence as received] Few passers-by could be seen in the streets of Warsaw and other Polish towns this morning.

City transport functioned as planned but trams and buses were nearly empty.

Throughout the night snowploughs and other snow-clearing equipment cruised the city guaranteeing the passability of all major streets.

All municipal and emergency services are working normally. Ambulance service has a workload not exceeding the average for a Sunday. Some of the calls are made from street phone booths from which -- and from them alone -- it is now possible to dial emergency services such as the police, ambulance and the fire brigade.

As far as road transport is concerned only sections of lower priority roads were impassable this morning due to snowdrifts. Driving conditions are difficult, though, for the roads are slippery. Over three thousand snowploughs and other special vehicles and 5,000 people were fighting snow all across Poland.

All rail routes are passable with delays of long-distance trains approaching 30 minutes.

Reloading points on the Polish-Soviet border at Malaszewicze and Zurawica were busy all through Saturday, receiving Soviet meat, fruit, rice and fruit preserves and [words indistinct] them inland.

Holidays Peaceful in Regions

LD261556 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] The largest work enterprise in the country, the Lenin metallurgical combine in Krakow, is working normally despite Christmas: coal supply is good; four large furnaces are working; and one is being prepared for a planned general overhaul.

In the Dolna Odra power station, near Gyrfino in Szczecin Voivodship, five blocks are working over the Christmas holiday. Conservation and repair work is being carried out on the three remaining blocs thus exploiting the lower electricity demand over Christmas. During the Christmas period, additional coal supplies have been delivered to this power station.

In Szczecin Voivodship, this year's Christmas is passing as in other regions, with the accent on family gatherings. During the Christmas holiday there were no serious incidents [wypadki] there. Nor were any rescue actions undertaken on the sea. The militia patrols had quite a lot of work, but this was due to their role in summoning the ambulance service and in the electricity and thermal emergency services.

The second day of the Christmas holiday is passing in a peaceful atmosphere in the tricity. According to the Christmas schedules, municipal transportation and the fast municipal railway connecting Gdansk to Gdynia are running. Twenty-seven ships are staying in the port of Gdansk, including 7 under foreign flags. During the morning work was going on three ships -- among others, loading sulfur and sugar sent in transit from Czechoslovakia. A British ship with a cargo of coal left the northern port. The dredger "matwa" is working uniniterruptedly on the roadstead to the port of Gdansk.

Working of Industry

LD261550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Today is the second day of the Christmas holiday period.

Intensive snowfalls, particularly in the central parts of Poland and in Silesia today complicated the normal rhythm of operations which existed on the railroads during the holiday period. So far no particular disruptions have been noted in passenger traffic, which is not very high.

However, there is much traffic at goods stations, above all at border transloading stations. Soldiers are helping the railroad workers at Malaszewicze station.

Continuous production plants are operating in Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship. The work tempo in the Belchatow industrial district is not letting up for a second. 1/4 of the workforce at the Belchatow lignite mine turned up for work during the holiday period. Final starting-up work is also being carried out without interruption on the first power generating set at the Belchatow power station. It will be synchronized with the national grid in the last few days of this year if everything goes well.

WARSAW PARTY EXECUTIVE MEETS ON SITUATION, TASKS

LD242116 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2010 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] The Executive of the Warsaw Party Committee discussed today the political situation in the voivodship and the work of the voivodship party organization. The executive stressed the need for the persistent implementation of the guidelines of the party Central Committee. particularly in the sphere of the work of primary organizations. It also accepted the role which civilian committees of national salvation should play in the life of factories, parishes, towns and districts.

VARIOUS PARTY FIGURES INTERVIEWED BY MEDIA

Moczar Interview

LD241336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] In a few days time it will be 40 years since the Polish United Workers' Party was created in the occupied country. There are still many people in Poland who are entitled in the moral and political respect to speak in connection with this important date in Polish history. Assuming that, in these difficult moments, in the extraordinary times which our nation and the state are experiencing at present, it is necessary to make the truth about this important even in the most recent chapter of Polish history better known. Ryszard Wojna asked Gen Mieczyslaw Moczar, one of the creators of the Polish United Workers' Party, leader of the people's guard and of the people's army in Lodz, Lublin and Kielce regions, and current chairman of the Supreme Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, for his comments.

The extensive interview, published in TRYBUNA LUDU, is the kind of publication which every reader and every student interested in modern history should study in its entirety. Our time on the air allows us to quote only some excerpts from the interview.

Ryszard Wojna: We are holding this interview at a time when -- there is no point in concealing this -- we have heavy hearts. The future is hidden by alarming clouds. There is martial law in our country. Where, do you think, lie the departures, with the most dangerous consequences, from the ideas which guided the birth of the Polish United Workers' Party?

Mieczyslaw Moczar: In departure from the principles of the morality of a party member. A communist ought to serve his class, his nation. He ought to give to the community and not try to gain advantage from his social work. Unfortunately, some activists of our party have overstepped all permissible boundaries. I have been making notes in the past few years -- several hundred typed pages of notes -- on the morality of a communist in conditions of an illegal party, in conditions of occupation, and then of a party creating a state and a governing party. They boil down to the conviction that a communist will not achieve a great deal if he does not enjoy authority in the community since the community is his field of action. If he is unable to win this authority or does not have qualifications for this. then he cannot be a communist.

Ryszard Wojna: Can you say something optimistic?

Mieczyslaw Moczar: I think that optimism is always a condition for psychological health, both of man and of the community. It is very difficult to live in a climate of pessimism, and in the long run it is downright impossible. Man might break down. Pessimism does not allow the community to use the valuable qualities it possesses. Pessimism kills, destroys, optimism is also a dictate of good sense.

Mieczyslaw Moczar states in conclusion: The summing up of certain historical periods should not stem from pressure which anniversaries create. This is one of our great weaknesses.

We must try to find in our modern history what was good and what was bad, and to take a clearly defined attitude toward this. It is only by doing this that we shall become trustworthy and useful as communists, it is only then that we shall regain the lost confidence of the community.

The comments come from an interview which is entitled by TRYBUNA LUDA: "When the Polish United Workers' Party was Born 40 Years Ago: A Leading Party Means a Leading People."

Orzechowski Interview

AU241205 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Dec 81 p 3

[Cap Zdzislaw Zaryczny interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski: "The Party and the Martial Law -- New Problems, New Questions"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Secretary, the martial law has created a new situation for the entire party. Are party members ready for the tasks created by this situation? How are they coping with the present trial, which is the most severe in the party's history?

[Answer] These questions hit the center of the issues that are now most important for party members, for the entire party. The martial law has merely updated and dramatically emphasized all the problems with which the party has been grappling for over 16 months and which are rooted much more deeply and much further in the years and the processes that are responsible for the fact that the party is now what it is.

Trying to answer your questions, I am proceeding from a premise that is obvious to me: that creating a socialist society and implementing the program for socialist renewal can be done only under ideological and political leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party -- a party that is a workers party in its nature, one that expresses the workers current and long-term class interests; and a party that is Polish and national, one that creates socialism in Poland for the Poles -- Socialism translated into Polish national experience, reality, aspirations and potential.

Will the party members be able to withstand this dramatic trial? They are already withstanding it. In many regions of the country we are able to observe what we could call a "rallying" of party members. Many party members and aktivists have suddenly become aware of the meaning of their work and have become convinced that it is possible to work effectively. No matter how badly we could assess the party's activities in the past few months, it is obvious that there is some inexhaustible strength within the party. I have become convinced of that now, at the most difficult time when people continue to come to us who have stood on the sidelines and have even lost the faith in our ability to overcome the crisis. They continue to come to us with their ideas, advice and willingness to help. They include retired people, reserve officers, party veterans and many young people. We are receiving reports to this effect from many voivodship, town and factory committees.

[Question] Hopefully, these people will not be left to themselves, relying merely on their own commonsense and oreintation.

[Answer] We should bear in mind that precisely their intuition and ability to evaluate the 13 December events as well as their prudence and experience are very important.

They will surely not be left to themselves. The voivodship committees continue to rally their aktivs, and various staffs are at work. Despite great difficulties and dead telephones and telexes, there is a better and more direct and natural tie between the committees and the groups of aktivs.

We can say that two very important streams and phenomena have merged in this regard. This means above all spontaneous grassroots initiatives stemming from a feeling of belonging to the party, of being a communist and of responsibility before one's own class and one's own nation. These are still not massive features, but I am convinced that this trend will be increasingly stronger. I attach enormous hope to them. On the other hand, also the "staff" units of our party have become militant and have promoted instructional and coordinating activities, supplying people with arguments, or course. The first stream -- because of its spontaneity and genuineness -- is the most valuable to us.

However, we must not overlook the fact that these features are occurring on the periphery of the party -- in principle among the groups and communities that have been active previously and that are ideologically and politically unequivocal. In other words, only some sections of our party members -- unfortunately a minority -- are passing the present trial. The martial law has neither regenerated the party as a whole nor has effected a radical, deep and lasting turning point in the attitudes of party members and in the style and skill of action. The process of regeneration has not sufficiently embraced the basic mass of party members. Many organizations are in a coma, some have been paralyzed by the shock of the martial law and some others have merely failed to pass the present tests.

All this make it imperative for us to view the party's present state with great sobriety, without emotional excitement and on the basis of as full a knowledge of the situation as possible. As it is, we are still without such a knowledge, especially the knowledge of the permanent factors that have helped to develop it in the past decade and in the past several months, and of the transitory factors connected with the martial law.

Only then will we be able to answer the questions: Is the party able to regenerate itself in its present state and form? If so, what are the prerequisites for such a regeneration? If not, what is to be done so that the party we have in mind -- a Marxist-Leninist, workers and Polish party, which is a party in essence and not just in name -- becomes as soon as possible a true fact and not merely a whish and hope?

This must happen as soon as possible because the social life of the people and the workers class does not tolerate a vacuum. Every vacuum and gap will be filled by someone else with his own information, slogans and action programs. All, I repeat all, of us who are ideologocially and politically connected with the party and who feel themselves responsible for its fates must realize that. All of us must realize that -- all of us who are deeply convinced that the party has not renounced and cannot renounce -- under the pain of losing its nature and the meaning of its work -- its historic responsibility for the fates of the people and for the people's future even in this extraordinary situation of the martial law when the Polish Armed Forces and the Military Council of National Salvation have temporarily taken over direct responsibilities. This statement relates to the question whether the party is able to cope with its historical mission and its responsibility toward the workers class, the people and the state in its present state and its current ideological-political and organizational condition.

[Question] The answer to this question should be provided by all the party members who are now rallying to tackle emergency tasks, which is important today and tomorrow. But will it be important after tomorrow? What program will the party present to its grassroots and to those social groups it wants to win?

[Answer] People must have hopes for today and tomorrow. They must hope that they will survive and that the winter will be easy -- without shocks and starvation. This is the main thing. However, the hope for today also implies a little hope for the future -- that which the party announced at the ninth congress will be really implemented. We must bear in mind that the martial law does not in any way cancel the congress program. This may sound like a commonplace, but in these dramatic days it acquires special significance in the same way as the resolute statement issued by the Military Council of National Salvation that there can be no question of returning to the situation before August 1980.

Of course, I do not propose to evaluate now whether the ninth congress has fulfilled social expectations and whether its program constitutes a genuine prospect for the country. As for me, I still believe that this program is a vision that can help mobilize the people.

I repeat, there is no question of banning from our political life the idea of that extraordinary congress, socialist renewal, and the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. This is merely a question of time -- of creating conditions for implementing these issues.

[Question] No doubt this means not only restoring peace and order within the country, but also overcoming what is bad and compromised in the state and economic administration. The removal of many prominent people and the internment of the members of the Gierek team seem to confirm that this is one of the main lines of action taken by the Military Council of National Salvation.

[Answer] It sure is, but it has nothing to do with the tactics designed to reap propaganda successes. It is a harbinger of a genuine and extensive struggle for social justice and against the new plutocracy that has emerged before our eyes and against the speculators who have made fortunes out of shady operations. It is a struggle against whatever pains our people so much and undermines their confidence in the socialist state. Restoring faith in justice and in the premise that the law is law and all are equal before the law is an enormous opportunity of the time we are witnessing. We must not waste this chance.

[Question] This is surely not the only lesson of the past several months.

[Answer] And, in spite of everything, it is not the most important lesson either. What I will say may again sound like a commonplace, but the conviction that it is absolutely necessary for the party to maintain its ties with the workers class is the most important and dramatic experience gained from our defeats and disappointments. When the Marxist-Leninist party forgets where its strength comes from and whose party it is, it is condemned to extinction. Perhaps it is embarrassing to remind you -- but it is necessary -- that the PZPR is a party which expresses and should express the historical interests of the workers class. This is the first letter of every Marxist-Leninist party's alphabet.

Perhaps now we will at last draw the necessary conclusions, following all our painful experiences. At the same time, this will be for us a time of great trial. After all, we will have to do our work under the conditions of the martial law introduced into the socialist state whose constitution has bestowed a leading role on the party. The martial law is a difficult situation, but it has saved the country from something much worse. Even the period before the introduction of the martial law disclosed many weakness in the party. However, the very fact that we are able to be aware of our own weakness can initiate the party's true regeneration. This is why the party should fully mobilize all its forces.

We will also have to begin once again to make persevering daily efforts to win the trust of millions and millions of Solidarity rank-and-file members because Solidarity's workers backbone is still there, after all. We have to talk with them, convince them and make it easier for them to embark on the right road -- the road of agreement of all patriots and of joint efforts for our common fatherland. This does not mean that we will cease our struggle against political adversaries, who have been greatly weakened, but who are by no means crushed. The strategy, nature and requirements of this struggle are such that we stretch our hands to all for whom national salvation is not just a phrase, but the most important issue. National salvation and national agreement are interdependent and closely associated terms.

[Question] The party's regeneration and consolidation are of basic significance in this connection. The party went into the state of the martial law greatly weakened. Will it be strengthened when it abandons this state?

[Answer] This is an extremely difficult and complicated issue. All of us wish that the present extraordinary time of trial becomes for the party a time of purge and consolidation.

I do not close my eyes at all to all those divisions that have existed and still exist within the party. This would be dangerous shortsightedness, but it seems to me that action unity is the most important issue now and that under the conditions of the martial law the only yardstick by which to evaluate a party member is his activity and his attitude toward the main issues of the present day, including the issue of martial law. This is also a question of attitude toward Solidarity, toward how the party is to behave and act and toward responding to the instructions issued by party levels.

Actions for the benefit of a common cause help create our party's true unity -- not a formal and lip-service unity. This unity is now acquiring an exceptional significance for the party's basic ideological value. Unity in daily action and the ability to apply in practice the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and not artifical divisions are becoming the basic criteria of evaluating party members and their attitudes in the days of the most severe trials.

Of course, this unity must not be a unity in general and at any price. It must be born from the specific idepolitical criteria I have mentioned and must develop in direct political struggle. He who is against this and who undermines the principles that justified the employment of extraordinary measures places himself beyond the pale of party ranks. Today the issue of party unity is no longer decided in the sphere of theoretical deliberations and discussions.

[Question] This means that such discussions have been suspended and perhaps completed?

[Answer] But I ask you: What discussions? About what? About whether the party has to behave in this and no other way? About whether it was right to introduce the martial law? I think that such discussions have been now completed and settled. Is the party to be a leading force in our state? What are the instruments for playing this role? I think that new discussions about these issues are unnecessary. After all, these are the principles concerning the foundations of party activity, which are beyond discussion. But were they beyond discussion in the most recent past?

[Question] You have stressed the importance of unity and militant activities by all party members. Are you not afraid of a crisis of confidence and militancy in the party, a crisis that can be intensified by the shock of the martial law and the continuing economic recession?

[Answer] I am afraid, but if I did no more than be afraid I would be a poor party leader.

As every other party member I could be afraid that the new enthusiasm we want to produce might be wasted. The relics of the ossified thinking in the party to the effect that there are "top" people and the "grassroots" -- that there is the party leadership and the passive masses of party members -- are rearing their head in this connection.

Well, my vision of the party is different. To me the party is a community of ideas and people as well as of activities that unite party members, regardless of their functions and posts in the party. The statute adopted by the ninth congress is the road to such a party. So if we want to consider the guarantees of the internal democracy in just such a party we have to conclude that such guarantees can be looked for only within all of us -- in the attitude of the party grassroots, in the fact, for example, that the party is able to change, without any special difficulty, its leadership that fails to provide the best conditions for the party levels' work. Not even the best statutes and formal guarantees will be enough by themselves. What counts is the cliamte and conditions of work.

Of course, the martial law calls for special measures. Internal party democracy has been curbed -- no doubt about that. It would be a calamity if all our habits which developed during the state of the martial law became permanent features of our activity. But this will depend on us and on our ability to repeat constantly that the martial law is temporary and that it is going to ensure for us normal living and working conditions.

[Question] The attitude of all our people will decide in the final reckoning whether the martial law will fulfill our expectations.

[Answer] This is so, and I am ready even to state that the date on which the martial law will be abolished depends primarily on all our people.

It can be said that the armed forces took the first and decisive step and created conditions and guarantees for the constructive and effective activities of all patriotic forces. These forces, the attitude and daily work of all our people, the extent to which our people understand the requirements of time and of the meaning of the present events. and our people's internal consolidation will determine the final results of the martial law. In this regard I can see a tremendous creative role for our party -- all its levels, aktivists and common members.

That is why it is so important even during the state of emergency to watch and foster the moods, attitudes and responses of all the people. Please, do compare the successive declarations issued by the Military Council of National Salvation. They do not include any arbitrary changes. They are results of a keen observation of social moods, aspirations and behavior of individual classes, social groups and communities of the people.

Even during the days of the greatest shock our society was not passive. Through its gestures. responses, spontaneous reactions and variously articulated attitudes it signalled to the authorities very many hints and information items, which were used in decisionmaking. As you see, this has not been and is not a classic "monologue" of the authority, but in fact a dialogue conducted in the state of emergency with all its consequences.

This dialogue is becoming increasingly more extensive and clear with each passing day. New publications are appearing and the radio and TV programs are becoming richer. These programs provide room for the views of representatives of various communities. Social and political organizations are becoming increasingly active.

The authorities' dialogue with society is expanding, and this cannot be otherwise if the martial law is to fulfill the hopes connected with it. A movement supporting the Military Council of National Salvation is emerging. It includes our party, the allied parties and the socialist youth movement.

I am convinced that this movement will be even stronger and will include all social communities. It will be stronger because more and more people realize that the martial law is our last chance. There is nothing beyond it. If we lose this chance we lose everything. However, I am convinced we will not lose.

Mokrzyszczak Interviewed

PM241449 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 pp 1-2

[Anna Pawlowska interview with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, under the rubric "Party Tasks for Today": "Let Us Be Needed by the People" -- date of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] With the imposition of martial law in our country. our organizations and organs have found themselves in a special situation. What tasks have these circumstances placed before them and which of these tasks are the most pressing?

[Answer] All the tasks are pressing and exceptionally important ones. more important than ever, maybe. The party is working among the people and will continue to do so, whatever the circumstances -- we have repeated this phrase so many times without even pausing to consider its deeper significance. So today, this is precisely what has to be done; the statement must be given a great deal of thought, and conclusions must be drawn.

All our organs are carrying out their responsibilities, working in close conjunction with the plenipotentiaries of the Territorial Defense Committee [Komitet Obrony Kraju] -- the military commissars. This is understandable and obvious. It is the duty of the party to set an example of indispensable discipline and submission to the special regulations and administrations. A similar attitude should be adopted from the beginning by local party organizations.

[Question] For so much depends on them under normal circumstances anyway, and now even more so....

[Answer] Yes. Every party member is duty bound to work hard -- in his capacity as a worker, as a citizen, as a colleague, as a neighbor, even as a passerby on the street. Let us prove ourselves as a party -- not before the Central Committee or the government but before the people -- prove whether we can manage to work for the normalization or production, encouraging our fellow workers through our own example; whether our comrades working in departments and institutions serving the community can understand all the difficulties arising at the moment and resolve them within the framework of the newly introduced regulations; whether comrades working in the countryside can succeed in getting through to the farmers, dispelling their fears and clarifying their doubts in such a way as to enable them to acknowledge the vital importance of the adherence to contractual agreements [for the supply of agricultural products to the government] and, where possible of supplementary deliveries also.

[Question] These tasks are not easy today.... Particularly since they are being undertaken by a party that has just had its congress, during which it revalued so drastically the methods of procedure it had hitherto used.

[Answer] They are not easy. But who is to undertake them, if not party members? Of course, there is no, and indeed never will be any, going back to the methods that have been repudiated. But it is also worth availing ourselves of the assistance and practical experience of older comrades, including those who are now retired -- their arguments are sometimes more weighty, supported by greater practical experience. We must realize that, particularly in these first days of the new situation, people may feel lost, disoriented, subsceptible to tumors.

And this situation also brings certain practical difficulties. For example: The earlier school vacations create a whole mass of problems for working women, while on the other hand all trade union activity has been suspended. But then it is our plant party organizations that can, and ought, to see it that the workforce takes advantage of all the possibilities and initiatives enabling them to organize care facilities for the children.

[Question] In short, we must do what there is to be done?

[Answer] Quite so. And there is a great deal to be done. Even pressure on the housing administration to act quickly to repair any damage occurring to installations -- for this is winter. A tightening up of the struggle to stamp out speculation has been announced -- party activists should take part in this campaign, cooperating with the organs set up specifically for this purpose. They should form groups to work with the army and militia in order to ensure order is maintained in plants and residential areas -- this enormously important for the feeling of security that people need so very much.

[Question] To explain and to agitate are, so to speak, the party's "natural" functions. Today, they are of particular importance....

[Answer] Indeed. The reason for the decision of the Council of State must be explained to everyone, everywhere, including in people's own homes, and it must be explained patiently, properly but courageously. Agitation, on the other hand, is necessary above all to encourage people to work, and here, personal example in particular serves as the best argument.

[Question] Do you think, comrade secretary, that, given the complicated circumstances, we are equal to such tasks?

[Answer] How could I think otherwise? For it was we, the party, who expressed alarm at the sloth and inconsistency of the authorities in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary threat. Maybe many of us had insufficient imagination or knowledge to foresee precisely how the situation would develop. We do indeed have many new party activists who were elected at the last party congress, but these activists, although often lacking experience, have not inherited cumbersome routine or bad habits and are more directly in touch with their environment.

But the party itself also has thousands of activists — in plants and in villages -- who have withstood the sternest tests. I am convinced that all these people are capable of joining forces today and applying themselves to collective party activity.

[Question] You speak of how the party can and ought to demonstrate its everyday practical, "routine," I would say, usefulness in society. I think that is a very accurate presentation of the issue. One more question in this context: Do we have any particular moral and political duties to all those whom our party also called workers Solidarity?

[Answer] We do. We do indeed. Even, and maybe above all, where workers Solidarity willingly trusted politicians who were misleading them all the time. For nothing had changed -- it is still a party of the working class, the class which the party must serve and serves. It is our party organizations, our plant activists who must wisely and tactfully meet these people halfway. More wisely and tactfully than ever. Martial law will remain and its class will remain. This must be remembered above all.

FORMER KOSZALIN OFFICIALS EXPELLED FROM PZPR

LD262222 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] According to a PAP correspondent, the Koszalin party organization's purging its ranks of those who abused their posts while carrying out party or state functions or who failed to discharge properly their duties arising from the party and the political tasks entrusted to them.

On the basis of evidence gathered so far, on the strengthe of a decision by the Koszalin Voivodship party Control Commission Wladyslaw Kozdra, the former first secretary of the party voivodship committee, and Jan Urbanowicz, the former Koszalin voivoda, have been expelled from the party's ranks.

Janusz Wojnowski, the former secretary of the Koszalin Voivodship PZPR Committee, has had his name crossed off the list of party members on the basis of a decision by the voivodship party Control Commission.

COURTS ISSUE SENTENCES, RECEIVE INDICTMENT ACTS

LD272308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] According to the press spokesman of the Ministry of Justice, dealing summarily with cases on the basis of the martial law decree, the courts have passed sentences in the following cases:

The Koszalin Voivodship Court on 24 December sentenced [names phonetic] Zdzislaw Beltkiewicz to 3 and 1/2 years deprivation of freedom; and Henryk Posdiadlo, Makary Koas and Pawel Szumski have been sentenced to 3 years deprivation of freedom. Sentences have been passed on the basis of article 46, paragraph 2, of the martial law decree. These people carried out union activity and organized a sit-in strike at a plant belonging to the Unitra-Unitex association in Bialogard on 14 December.

The court has sentenced all the accused to the loss of public rights for a period of 2 years. In accordance with regulations of summary proceedings, the accused have no right of appeal and the sentence is to be executed forthwith.

The Nowy Sacz Voivodship Court sentenced Jerzy Lewcun to 6 months deprivation of freedom on 23 December. As chairman of the Works Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity at the specialist pediatric rehabilitation and orthopedic center, in conditions of martial law, he continued union activity, carried on a protest action and called for strikes with the aid of posters. The sentence has been made possible thanks to the fact that the court decided not to use summary procedure.

The court was motivated in its decision by the fact that the extent of social danger was not too high, since only an insignificant proportion of the workforce expressed readiness to join in protest action. The court upheld the temporary arrest.

The following cases have reached voivodship courts, with summary procedures being used. Acts of indictment against Adam Obercz, accused of having continued union activity, organizing and leading a strike in the Polmo shock-absorbers factory on 16 December in Krosno in his capacity as chairman of the Works Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity, despite the fact that the union's activity had been suspended, have been received by the Krosno Voivodship Court. The case will be heard on 29 December. The acts of indictment are based on article 46, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the 12 December 1981 decree.

Acts of indictment against Jerzy Kuzian, accused of not having given up the activities of his organization on 13 and 14 December in Sanok in his capacity as chairman of the Works Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity at the Sanok rubber industry stomil works, and organizing and leading a strike in the works, have been received by the Krosno Voivodship Court. The date of the hearing has been fixed for 28 December. The acts of indictment are based on article 46, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the 12 December 1981 decree.

Bydgoszcz Voivodship Court has received acts of indictment against Witold Mikolajczyk, accused of having permitted himself, while in an intoxicated state, to carry out an attack on the commander of a military patrol in Wroclaw during the night of 21 to 22 December. After having been asked to produce his documents and while being escorted to a militia station, he struck the commander in the face and made it impossible for the patrol to escort him to the station. The hearing has been fixed for 29 December.

Poznan Voivodship Court has received acts of indictment against Zbigniew Stecki and Jacek Oleksyn, accused of having organized a meeting for the purpose of embarking on a protest action against the state of martial law as activists of Solidarity at the Dzmbgology Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kurnik near Poznan on 14 December. The acts of indictment are based on article 46, paragraph 2, of the martial law decree.

COMMENTARIES CONDEMN REAGAN'S DECISIONS

PAP Commentary

LD241904 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] PAP writes that President Ronald Reagan, who has already made an unfriendly gesture toward Poland by receiving in the White House the defector and former Ambassador Romuald Spasowski, has now gone a lot further by devoting a speech to the American nation to events in our country. Interfering in Polish internal affairs in an unprecedented manner, the president permitted himself a negative assessment of moves by the legal authorities of Poland which were made in keeping with the Constitution. He did not hesitate to attempt to exert pressure on Poland, announcing a series of restrictions which not only hit out at normal Polish-American relationships but also at the living standard of Polish families, for he has suspended all American Government shipments of agricultural articles to Poland. The only exception is shipments by what he called private humanitarian channels. In addition to this, Reagan announced the suspension of the renewal of government credit guarantees for the Import-Export Bank, the suspension of Polish civil aviation privileges in the United States and the abolition of fishing quotas for Polish fishermen in American waters. He appealed to the American allies to toughen up restrictions on sales of modern technology to Poland. I dare say that this final move will not be well received since in the past U.S. allies in Western Europe have not shown themselves to be inclined to support the anti-Polish policy. [Editor's note: Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish at 1830 GMT on 24 December supplied the following alternate ending to above broadcast. This alternate ending reads: ...technology to Poland. The whole speech was couched in a rhetoric reminiscent of the cold war. Nor was there any shortage of tasteless attacks on the Soviet Union and even threats to take steps that hit out at Soviet-U.S. relations.]

Papers Condemn Reagan Measures

LD280828 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 28 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Important commentaries in TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI discuss the recent speech made by President Reagan to the American people and devoted to the events in our country. The President announced a series of restrictions which strike not only at normal Polish-American relations, but also at the standard of living of Polish families; he has suspended all deliveries of agricultural and dairy products to Poland with the exception of those flowing through humanitarian channels. Moreover, Reagan has announced that the renewal of government credit guarantees for Poland in the Import-Export Bank will be suspended as well as the privileges of the Polish airline in the United States; that fishing allowances for Polish fishermen in American waters will be abolished; and that restrictions will be made more severe in the buying and selling of modern Polish technology in the United States. The Polish nation is experiencing difficult times, we read in a TRYBUNA LUDU commentary entitled "The President's Anti-Polish Carol," and President Reagan has decided to make them even more difficult. Further on: We have emerged unscathed from many historical oppressions. We have sufficient will and decisiveness of our own to do this. We also have true friends.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI calls the speech by President Reagan "a brutal interference in our affairs." It has revealed, we read in a commentary under the same title, the true attitude of the Washington administration towards the Polish nation. It has demonstrated that the lofty humanitarian principles so often expounded by Washington are mere tools of political blackmail and pressure.

Comments on Envoys' Defections

LD261636 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1547 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Piotr Kroli commentary]

[Text] Two gentlemen -- Romuald Spasowski and Zdzislaw Rurarz, who until recently were ambassadors of the Polish People's Republic, one in the United States and the other in Japan -- asked the authorities there to grant them political asylum. It would be difficult to call these actions anything other than "defection" or "betrayal" although something more elegant could be found in diplomatic language. But neither diplomacy or elegance are the point here.

Both gentlemen had been beyond the borders of Poland on many occasions representing our interests. They were representing them at a time when in the past decade numerous mistakes had been committed in economic and social policy and when the authorities, in which they played a considerable part, were not on the same track as the public. They also represented these interests at a time when the post-August renewal of our country augured hopes for a better future and also when the country was getting close to the brink of an abyss.

When all is said and done, Professor Rurarz was until recently one of the economic experts in the sphere of international policy and economics. He put in many willing appearances in the mass media. It was not until the Military Council of National Salvation stemmed dangerous processes and phenomena, and there was an outline of a chance to normalize political and social life and to overcome the economic crisis, and conditions were created for peaceful work and for reconstructing the mechanisma and structures of the state, that both our representatives resigned not only from their honorable functions but also from participating in the reconstruction.

The only feeling I have as I relfect on this matter is shame: Shame for people who could not produce elementary integrity when they were settling accounts with their own country, with views they had been professing until that date, and with their own life-history.

I also feel ashamed because they went under the protective wings of President Reagan whose latest address to the American nation does not leave any shadow of a doubt as to his attitude to matters pertaining to Poland and Poles.

I do not know if Polish law will ever catch up with Messers Spasowski and Rurarz. This is not the point and this is not what I am driving at. All I want is that when we get on top of our difficulties and problems on our own the two gentlemen should remain abroad, aware of the fact that they abandoned the fatherland in its greatest need. What I also wish is that this awareness should bid them to wipe out from their own descent and memory the fact that they were the sons of this land.

AFP REPORTS ON WALESA ROLE IN CURRENT CRISIS

NC271937 Paris AFP in English 1933 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Vienna, 27 Dec (AFP) -- Two weeks after the proclamation in Poland of the state of siege, Lech Walesa, although cut off from the outside world and therefore silenced, continues to play a major part on the Polish chessboard between army, party, church and the 10 million members of his Solidarity union.

According to converging reports from various Western sources, the union leader has steadfastly refused to negotiate with the military authorities unless the primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, was present. The primate, according to the same reports, has on his part posed the same condition concerning Mr Walesa's presence if he were to take part in talks with officials.

Nothing indicated today that General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, was ready to accept such a tripartite summit, but new developments could not be ruled out. They could become known after Msgr Luigi Poggi, Pope John Paul II's special emissary to Warsaw, reports to the pontiff tomorrow following his latest trip to Warsaw.

The Polish media meanwhile have been treating Mr Walesa almost like a non-person, but not quite -- in the rare references to his existence, they have mentioned only that he saw his family, that he has a radio set and access to newspapers and that last week, a priest dropped by to read mass for him.

A report from the Vatican said Mr Walesa had also been visited twice by Archbishop Dabrowski, the Polish emissary of the primate.

The Polish media have repeatedly reported that the union leader continues some sort of dialogue with the authorities, but they never made clear whether he was interned, under arrest or assigned to forced residence.

One thing is certain, though: After being flown to Warsaw from Gdansk during the night of December 12 to 13, he was first put up in a villa on the outskirts of the capital, then transferred elsewhere and finally re-transferred to Warsaw.

According to an underground bulletin put out by Solidarity's Warsaw Branch Mazowsze, he is being held on Rakowiecka Street where there is the headquarters of the secret police as well as a prison, but this could not be confirmed. Nor could reports from Polish travelers arriving in Paris that he had refused to launch an appeal to the population for a return to calm.

The Polish authorities in their attitude towards the labor leader appeared to have three preoccupations in mind. Firstly, they are anxious not to turn Mr Walesa into a martyr, which could explain the absence of all direct attacks against him at a time of daily diatribes in the media against the "extremists" among Solidarity's leaders and denials he had suffered a heart attack after hearing about the death of seven miners from the Wujek pit in a clash with security forces.

The heart attack rumor was followed by a report today in the London SUNDAY TIMES that Mr Walesa had begun a hunger strike on December 19 and was in a weak condition. The report, from a Polish-American official and echoed by the U.S. State Department, could not be confirmed either.

The second consideration for the Polish authorities is that they cannot let Mr Walesa out, even if under surveillance, without risking an appeal by him to the population for a campaign of passive resistance.

Finally, the authorities still hope to swing the union leader around to negotiating the conditions for a resumption of Solidarity's activities "once the situation permits."

[Words indistinct] negotiation finally came about, Mr Walesa is forced to hold out for real concessions from the authorities if he is to have any chance of being heeded by his comrades.

A step in that direction would be the creation of a "social council" under his chairmanship as already proposed by the Polish church. This would be a body independent of all dissident organizations that would limit itself to the defense of the interests of the workers in the spirit of the Catholic social movements.

It remains to be seen whether the authorities are willing -- or able -- to go that far and whether the workers can be persuaded, even by Walesa, that any agreement can still be reached.

PAPAL ENVOY ON WALESA, CHANCE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

NC272024 Paris AFP in English 2021 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Rome, 27 Dec (AFP) -- Lech Walesa, the leader of Poland's Solidarity union, "is not interned" and "may attend mass," according to papal envoy Msgr Luigi Poggi, who returned here from Warsaw today.

Msgr Poggi, who delivered a message from Pope John Paul II to Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski last week, said there were "hopes for a dialogue between the authorities and the social forces" of Poland.

He was not more specific on that point when pressed with questions by newsmen at Fiumicino Airport.

He is now expected to give a detailed account of his Warsaw conversations to the Pope.

SOLIDARITY CONTINUES TO ISSUE BULLETINS

NC261910 Paris AFP in English 1853 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] Vienna, 26 Dec (AFP) -- The Solidarity union's Warsaw branch has been issuing clandestine bulletins in defiance of the suspension of all union activities in Poland under the state of siege, it was confirmed here today.

A bulletin received here bore the title WIADOMOSCI (INFORMATION), the same title as the Warsaw branch daily publication before martial law was imposed on December 13. The bulletin, number four, was dated December 21 and was reportedly distributed in Warsaw the following day.

Its information about strikes in Silesian coal mines has been superseded by events in a situation evolving at high speed, although its conclusion, that "resistance" in Silesia was continuing, appeared still valid.

The most significant item in the bulletin was a report from Poznan about "a new form of resistance:" the production of defective products and deterioration of installations.

The Warsaw branch was one of Solidarity's most combative components. Its leader, Zbigniew Bujak, is among the few top unionists who escaped when the military rounded up the Solidarity leadership immediately after its takeover two weeks ago.

JARUZELSKI ADVISER ON TU AGREEMENTS, MARTIAL LAW

LD242104 Hamburg DPA in German 2013 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Hamburg, 24 Dec (DPA) -- According to an adviser of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, Captain Wieslaw Gornicki, the Polish military government wants to keep all the agreements concluded with the Solidarity trade union in August 1980 and even extend some of them. "The old system is finished in Poland now," Gornicki said on Thursday evening in an interview on the "Tagesschau" [FRG TV current affairs program].

"Whatever we do in Poland, sometimes with unusual and brutal means, we do not want to turn back the clock of history," he said. In his words there was room in Poland "for an independent trade union; independent of the state, but also independent of anticommunist terrorists."

Gornicki gave the assurance that there were seven dead in Poland so far, not one dead person more. Poland was not a country in which dead and seriously injured people could be hidden.

When martial law was declared there had been no outside interference, he said further. The text of his words was: "We declared martial law precisely in order to make this outside interference impossible. We did it ourselves for internal political reasons and to secure peace in Europe as well as to avoid unforeseeable consequences. If you recall the sequence of events in Hungary in 1956 you will now what I mean."

According to the adviser, there were some people in the West who were exploiting events in Poland. Unfortunately the U.S. government was among these. They tried to stir up anti-Soviet hysteria. This was not only cynical, but also completely unfounded.

Detainees To Be Released Soon

NC252232 Paris AFP in English 2228 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Place not given, 25 Dec (AFP) -- Captain Wieslaw Gornicki, spokesman for the ruling Polish Military Council, said in an interview boradcast Friday night by West German television that "most of the people arrested since December 13 (declaration of martial law) will be freed soon."

Capt Gornicki said that "Western journalists will be able to interview them freely and visit the internment camps."

The spokesman added that "some detainees cannot be freed, for they have been found guilty of offenses committed before the declaration of martial law." He said this applied, for example, to the head of Solidarity's Szczezin branch.

Justifying the present state of siege declared by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Capt Gornicki said, "We did not want to wage a crusade against the Solidarity trade union but sought to avoid a bloody civil war."

Polish tradition would never accept a military dictatorship, he said, adding that "extreme measures" had been taken "because this was the only way of avoiding an escalation of the Polish crisis."

AFP: JARUZELSKI SAYS SIEGE TO CONTINUE

NC242054 Paris AFP in English 2042 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Place not given, 24 Dec (AFP) -- Gen Jaruzelski said tonight on Polish radio that the rigors of the state of siege would be maintained "as long as necessary...but not an hour longer than necessary."

"The faster the irresponsible agitators will be losing their support, the quicker order and complete calm will return, and the faster normalization will come about," the general added, according to the broadcast monitored in Vienna.

In his radio address, Gen Jaruzelski continued by declaring that "no one can accuse the Polish Government of wanting confrontation."

This liberal note had already been struck earlier today by the general's spokesman, Captain Wieslaw Gornicki.

The captain stated that not only was the general not putting in question the 1980 Gdansk agreements with the Solidarity union, but he would be trying as much as possible even to enlarge them.

The government, Capt Gornicki added, was not endangering the existence of Solidarity. The union must be "independent of the state, but also of terrorist and anti-socialist forces."

Gen Jaruzelski, who spoke for only 10 minutes, said that "the process of disintegration of the state has been halted. An end has been put to anarchy... personal security is improving." "The prevention of confrontation in Poland," he continued, "has removed from Poland a danger whose real character and seriousness are still not comprehended in full everywhere."

"The only road open to Poland is joint efforts by all Poles and socialist democratization. No one is out for revenge," the general added.

He said that "the changes that appeared in public life over the past dozen or so months will be continued. There is room in Poland's system for a self-governed trade union. There is room for different currents in public life."

"Poland must find her own way out of the crisis," he concluded.

Earlier in his speech, Gen Jaruzelski stated "categorically" that reports about "tens or hundreds of dead" since the proclamation of the state of siege were "lies."

The general also denied that "thousands of people had been detained in the open air and in the cold and been beaten or tortured."

He did not give any figures for the casualties of clashes, but his spokesman earlier today said there had been seven dead in all since the night of December 12 to 13 when the military took over. Referring to the clash between security forces and miners at the Wujek mine in western Poland, Gen Jaruzelski said: "We all deplore the events at the mine of Wujek, which is also a personal tragedy for me. Those responsible are the agitators who organized and accomplished acts of aggression and who did no respect the rules of the state of siege."

Gen Jaruzelski said that as far as the Roman Catholic Church (?was) concerned, "the discharging of its mission is guaranteed by the Constitution. The same goes for the other denominations."

Gen Jaruzelski, who was introduced as chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, without reference to his posts as head of the government and the communist party, said he announced the emergency measures on December 13 because "there was no longer any other way out."

"How long could the country, daily torn by strikes, aflame with tensions and sinking in a climate of artificially fanned hatred, have continued to survive?" he asked.

The general said that although "we did not want as much as a single drop of blood to be shed... unfortunately we did not succeed in avoiding that."

He said that anarchy and "the process of disintegration of the state" had been ended, while "prevention of confrontation has removed from Poland a danger whose real character and seriousness are still not fully comprehended everywhere."

"As long as it is necessary, we will demand observance of the severe orders of martial law," Gen Jaruzelski continued. "At the same time, I declare that this state of martial law will not be in force one hour longer than necessary."

Gen Jaruzelski said Poland's only course lay in "the way of joint and unified efforts by the whole community, the way of deepening socialist democratization."

"Nobody intends to nullify the fundamental principles of renewal," he promised.

"We do not want vengeance or a base settling of scores.

"There will be no military dictatorship."

In a nod to Solidarity, the general said: "In our socio-political system there is room for self-managing and rally independent trade unions -- independent of the state employ, but also independent of the manipulations and terror of irresponsible politicians."

DAILY TELEGRAPH ON ANTISEMITIC PROPAGANDA

LD241300 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 21 Dec 81 p 4

["Warsaw Blames the Jews," by Alan Copps in Ystad, Sweden]

[Text] Poland's military regime is using anti-Semitic propaganda in an attempt to discredit its opponents and shift the blame for the troubles, a Solidarity official said yesterday.

Mr Jakub Swiscicki, the union's representative in Stockholm, said broadcasts by Radio Warsaw had accused Jewish people of trying to wreck the economy by hoarding goods.

At the same time travellers returning from Poland reported growing evidence of anti-Semitism. They said the propaganda was apparently intended to rekindle old antipathies between Roman Catholics and the 30,000 Polish Jews.

Mr Swiecicki said that several broadcasts had linked Jewish former members of the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] the dissident organisation, which was disbanded when Solidarity became legal, with the disgraced Communist Party chief, Mr Edward Gierek, in an alleged plot to destroy the economy and make Poland dependent on Western aid.

Also included in the attack was Prof Bronislaw Geremek, an historian and political adviser to Mr Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader.

A broadcast criticising Prof Geremek's work included a derogatory aside that his parents had changed their names and therefore must have been Jewish.

Mr Swiecicki said: "One broadcast said that some Jews within KOR and Mr Geremek were in league with Gierek to destroy the Polish economy."

There were several similar statements. The radio also read statements by 'Defence of Poland' which is a paronoic anti-Semetic movement in a tone of endorsement.

"These broadcasts blamed Jews for buying up everything from Polish markets and collaborating with international Zionism."

Travellers who came back to Sweden on a ferry from Swinouscije yesterday said they had heard people in Warsaw blaming Jews for hoarding goods.

They had been told the authorities said two groups were to blame for food shortages: farmers who did not produce enough and Jewish shopkeepers who hoarded goods.

They also said that Jewish intellectuals had been blamed for unrest in universities. One report told of a man of Jewish descent in a food queue who was turned away by a shopkeeper with the words: "I am not serving you, I am only serving Poles. You can go to the rabbi and get your food."

SCINTEIA REGRETS ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF POLAND

LD281118 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Dec 81 p 6

[Article: "In the Interest of Peace, International Collaboration and Detente: the Settlement of the Questions of Socialist Poland's Development -- the Exclusive Responsibility of the Polish People" SCINTEIA headline]

[Text] Public opinion in our country is following with attention and concern the development of events in friendly Poland. As the communique of the military council and the reports of Warsaw radio and the Polish press show, during the period that has elapsed since the adoption of exceptional measures and the establishment of martial law, steps have been taken in the direction of surmounting the crisis and normalizing the situation in that country.

According to those sources, an improvement is noted in the great majority of the various sectors of activity. Thus, in most industrial enterprises work continues in a normal manner and one can note an appropriate participation in work, an improved discipline, an increase in productivity and a proper utilization of production capacities.

As Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski showed in his 24 December speech, the imposition of martial law was required to avoid confrontation and will not last longer than necessary. Thus, the PZPR Central Committee first secretary stressed, "the lesser evil was chosen," a halt was put to anarchy and the process of the country's disintegration and conditions were created to normalize the situation in the country.

Making known the results scored so far the Polish mass media do not hide the fact that there still are difficulties in various fields of the economic and social life which affect the balance of energy, supply and transport, of which some have an objective character due to a severe winter.

The difficulties confronting Poland are also caused, to a great extent, by the attempts of extremist elements to undermine the efforts of the patriotic forces, of the broad masses towards normalizing the situation, to oppose the social life coming back into the normal course of a quiet and creative world.

Romania has repeatedly expressed her confidence that the Polish people has the force to overcome the state of affairs confronting it and consistently declared for it to solve its problems without any outside interference in its domestic affairs.

Undoubtedly, the way that can lead to the attainment of the Polish people's desiderata, to the building of a dignified, free and prosperous Poland is the rallying of all the forces of the nation that declare for the triumph of socialism, the broad mobilization of the working class, of the peasantry, intelligentsia, of all the citizens to implementing, through an energetic and persevering work, the economic programmes, to safeguarding and developing socialist propriety, to establishing new social relations. The Romanian people is convinced that under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party and through a broad mobilization of the creative energies of the masses, by acting in the spirit of its lofty responsibilities for the present and future of the country, the Polish nation can and must safeguard the achievements scored in the years of socialism. Poland's independence and sovereignty, ensure the fulfilment, in the best conditions, of the role it plays among the socialist countries and in the international arena.

The problems in Poland -- Nicolae Ceausescu stressed -- are problems that should concern only the Polish people and the political forces in Poland, the Polish United Workers' Party included. We consider that it is in the interest of both the Polish people and the European peoples -- given the role Poland plays in Europe -- of its socialist development and of the strengthening of its independence and sovereignty that this country be left to solve her problems by herself without any outside interference.

Under the present circumstances the question is to take no action that could contribute to the further deterioration of the situation in Poland, to support the Polish people so that it could surpass the existing situation and provide conditions for normalizing it. That is why the real friends of Poland should be concerned with helping the Polish nation to overcome the crisis and with doing nothing that could further complicate the situation.

Starting from this, anyone would be puzzled by the fact that various external political and, unfortunately, even governments of some countries took a hard stand against the events in Poland, resorted even to various measures of economic boycott and other oppressions meant to raise further obstacles to Poland.

There are some circles outside that continue to support and encourage irresponsible elements in their actions, all this slackening the normalization of life, the socialist and democratic development, the resumption of dialogue and the achievement of national unity of the Polish people.

Certainly, no one can demand -- and it is not necessary to do so -- that other countries should approve of the measures taken by the Polish authorities, those measures being an internal question of Poland, which aim at reestablishing order, at creating an atmosphere of quiet and discipline, at normalizing and developing the socioeconomic life, at strengthening the independence and sovereignty of the country. Even if various opinions exist with regard to the situation in Poland, no immixture, whatever its kind, in the people's home affairs, the support to forces opposing normalization and directed against the Polish state and its policy can be justified.

We consider it necessary that such actions should be given up, that nobody should interfere in the internal affairs of Poland, that the Polish people should be helped to settle its problems alone, to put an end to the disorganization of the socioeconomic life, to provide conditions for the democratic development of society.

As it is known, the situation in Poland was such that violent clashes would have occurred, a civil war would have broken out, if the Polish authorities had not taken the appropriate measures, if an end had not been put to anarchy and chaos in the sociopolitical life, a fact which would have been a particularly serious threat to Poland's independence and sovereignty, to international life.

Confronted with all these dangers, the Polish people considered that it was preferable to take exceptional measures.

It is no doubt that the measures taken are temporary and everything possible should be done for a comeback to the normal situation, conditions being provided for the further development, on the basis of the principles of socialist democracy, of the Polish people's life and activity, for Poland's advance on the socialist road, for that country's independence and sovereignty. Now, on the eve of the new year, the Romanian people, inspired by the deepest feelings of friendship and solidarity, wish the Polish people to score -- under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party -- ever bigger successes in recovering the economy, consolidating social order and discipline, in the further socialist development of the country, enhancing the role of socialist Poland in international life.

This corresponds undoubtedly to the vital interests of the Polish people, of the independence and sovereignty of Poland as well as to the general interests of peace, detente, freedom and progress of the peoples in Europe and all over the world.

MEDIA REPORTAGE ON 23 DECEMBER GNA SESSION

Ceausescu in Attendance

AU231126 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Summary] "The Grand National Assembly [GNA] resumed proceedings in plenum this morning. The arrival in the GNA Hall of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Comrade Elena Ceausescu and other party-state leaders was greeted by deputies and guests with loud applause. In the first part of the current session, the parliament gave power of law to the 1982 plan and budget and to other important documents. The agenda of the second part of the session features the following points:

-- Draft bill on amending and supplementing Law No 30 of 1977 on the Congress of Working People's Councils and of the National Council of Working People in Industry, Construction and Transports;

-- "Draft bill on amending and supplementing Law No 5 of 1978 on the Organization and Leadership of State Socialist Units;

-- "Draft bill on local income and other taxes;

-- "Draft bills on endorsing law-decrees issued by the State Council;

-- "Changes in the composition of certain GNA permanent commissions.

"At today's session the deputies validated the election of Comrade Vasile Carolica, candidate of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front as GNA deputy for electoral constituency No. 7 Nehoiu of Buzau County."

Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political committee, first deputy chairman of the National Council of Working People presented a report on the first two draft bills. Deputy Stefan Mocuta presented a report of the GNA permanent commissions on the same draft bills. At this hour the draft bills are being discussed by the GNA.

Dascalescu Report

AU231948 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Report on Constantin Dascalescu's report to the 23 December Grand National Assembly session on the bill on amending and supplementing the National Council of Working People in Industry, Construction and Transports as well as on the bill on amending and supplementing Law No 5 of 1978 on the Organization and Management of State Socialist Units]

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Dec (AGERPRES) -- In the rationale of the bills on the modification and completion of previous laws on the Congress of Working People's Councils and the National Council of Working People in Industry, Constructions and Transports as well as on the organization and management of socialist state-run units, Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, first deputy chairman of the National Council of Working People pointed to the new content of the mentioned normative acts which contributed to the development of socialist democracy, to the raising onto a superior plane of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, to the increase of the role of collectivities of working people in running the entire economic and social life, the increase of the control exercised by working people, by the working class on the activity of all the bodies of collective management, of the managerial cadres of the units.

They provide the legal frame for an effective exercise of rights and responsibilities incumbent upon executives of units and working personnel in fulfilling their planned tasks and in best administrating the share of the national wealth society gave them to husband, for its further progress and strengthening.

In order to broaden the democratic framework of working people's participation in management and in the exercise of an efficient control on the activity of working people's councils -- the rapporteur went on -- it is stipulated to increase considerably the prerogatives of the general meetings of working people so that they should become indeed a superior form of achieving worker self-management in all socialist units.

Alongside the present prerogatives -- the speaker specified -- the general meetings of working people are to approve a change of the enterprise's profile, to decide on putting out of commission fixed assets and on discarding material assets, on the number of personnel to be hired by the enterprise closely correlated with plan indicators and with the possibilities to ensure remuneration funds, to examine bills on normative acts of general interest or which are related to the improvement of the activity of socialist units.

In connection with the task of promoting the most valuable cadres to the collective management bodies and the exercise of a permanent control on their activity, the general meeting shall annually confirm in office the unit's managerial cadres -- director, chief engineer and chief accountant, as well as the chairman and the vice-chairmen of the Council of Working People -- the speaker said, mentioning that the same forum shall declare on the proposals for promotion to leading offices of the unit's cadres, shall decide on releasing from office the unit's managerial cadres who severely infringe the labour discipline or prove lack of responsibility in carrying through the plan tasks.

On a central plane, for enlarging the framework of participation of the working people in management, their better representation shall be ensured in the National Council of Working People, and the council shall include also some branches of the economy that were previously not encompassed by it: the home trade, the foreign trade, the technico-material supply, tourism, consumer cooperatives, handicraft cooperatives and finance.

The number of members of the national council shall be raised by 55 percent and that of workers and foremen directly active in production shall go up from 301 to 834, covering over 52 percent of the total membership of the council.

Referring to the new attributions the National Council of Working People will exercise, the speaker mentioned inter alia, the control on the enforcement and observance of the party decisions, of the laws, decrees and other normative acts, the analysis of the way of fulfillment of the programme of raising the living standard and improving the quality of life of the whole people. The annual debate of the government accounts on the activity of carrying through the single national plan of economic and social development. The National Council of Working People, the most largely representative forum of the working class will thus have to permanently control the way the ministries, centrals and enterprises work for the implementation of the party and state decisions, for discharging their tasks deriving from the single national plan of socio-economic development of the country, and for the strict application of collective work and management in their whole activity.

Likewise, the National Council of Working People shall have right of legislative initiative, and the draft normative acts of general interest regarding the country's socio-economic development initiated by other bodies shall be submitted to it for debate before being advanced for endorsement to the Grand National Assembly or to the State Council.

The rapporteur then referred to other measures for the improvement of the organizational framework of participation of the working people in management, quoting as examples the institution in every county of conferences of working people's councils and of the county councils of working people.

The continuous expansion of the attribution of the collective management bodies of the units -- he mentioned -- calls for greater responsibility of the working people in their capacity as owners, producers and end-users, for the direct and actual management of the unit, the strengthening of order and discipline at every workplace, and equally their duty to permanently take care of the smooth run of activity in their unit.

To this end, the rapporteur specified that the bill was extended with a new chapter, entitled "The Duties and Responsibilities of the Working Personnel." Responsibilities were stipulated for the judicious and efficient administration of the assets entrusted, for an increased contribution of every unit to the development of society, to raising the population's living standard, to the country's progress and defence.

The duties stipulated by the bill stem from the fact that every working person, joining the work collective of a socialist unit, is responsible for the exemplary fulfillment of the plan tasks incumbent on him or her, for the strict observance of the technological and labour discipline, for the integral use of the worktime, the preoccupation for continuously raising the technical and qualitative level of products, the rising index of employment of machinery and equipment.

Stipulated have also been the responsibilities of the working people vis-a-vis the consumption of faw and auxiliary materials, fuel, energy, the protection of public property. They have to resolutely oppose the waste, degrading or embezzlement of goods from the national wealth. Every working man and woman is responsible for the observance of order and discipline, of the norms of socialist ethics and equity and must prove high professional conscience, dedication and competence in work, develop relations of mutual comradely aid, ensure a climate of worker discipline in the carrying through of the tasks, show combativity and intransigence in relation to those who disregard the order and discipline.

Further on, the speaker presented the content of another chapter included in the bill submitted to debate and which stipulates "rules for the good functioning, exploitation and maintenance of installations, equipment and outfit, the strengthening of work order and discipline in non-stop functioning units or in units endowed with highly dangerous equipment."

Persons who come to job intoxicated are forbidden access to units. The working personnel is also forbidden to bring in or to drink alocholic liquors in units.

It those rules are not observed, the law stipulates penal sanctions, or contraventional, disciplinary or material sanctions.

In conclusion, Constantin Dascalescu also showed that the bill stipulates the principles of organization and functioning of state institutions on the basis of economic and financial self-administration.

Gigea Report

AU232025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Report on Finance Minister Petre Gigea's Report to the 23 December Grand National Assembly Session in Bucharest on the Bill on Duties and Local Taxes]

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Dec (AGERPRES) -- In the rationale of the bill on duties and local taxes, Finance Minister Petre Gigea stressed that this new normative act fits in the whole of measures pursuing the firm application of the new economic and financial mechanism, the strengthening of the workers' self-management and self-administration, the improvement of the planning and management of the economic activity.

Recalling that the Romanian state earmarks every year important funds for the balanced, sustained development of all urban and rural localities in view of ensuring ever better working, housing and living conditions, the speaker specified that population too, by paying duties and local taxes, makes its contribution to the creation of the necessary financial resources for this development, along with the participation of the economic units, cooperative organizations and the other public organizations.

The participation, he added, represents a materialization of the relations of the population and of the socialist units with the state, an expression of their concern over the fulfillment by the state of its functions and attributions.

The Romanian finance minister highlighted that the further stimulation of the broad masses of people for the development multilateral of all localities and the raising of their degree of civilization demand the improvement of the system of duties and local taxes setting and raising. The mentioned reglementations [as received] -- the rapporteur stressed -- will ensure the further qualitative improvement of this activity and will lead, at the same time, to promoting the principles of socialist ethics and equity as regards an ever more just contribution of the population to increasing the degree of civilization of all localities, to raising the material spiritual welfare of working people.

The new normative act maintain the present reglemenation as regards duties on buildings.

The bill stipulates, as until now, the obligation of natural persons and juristic persons, other than socialist units, who have automotive transportation means and water transportation means to pay an annual tax, differentiated depending on the kind of transportation means and on the engine displacement.

In order to use all public market places in municipalities, towns and communes, natural persons, cooperative organizations and other public organizations, as well as juristic persons other than socialist state-run units pay a daily duty differentiated depending on the degree of endowment of the areas made available for producers, the kind of products to be sold, the services to population and the occupied area.

The bill stipulates the setting of taxes for visiting monuments, architectural and archaeological sites. Exempted from taxation or paying lower taxes will be the pupils, students and draftees who call at such monuments.

For sojourns in balneo-climatic resorts the bill stipulates that the natural persons aged more than 16 owe a fixed tax for the entire sojourn in the respective resort. Pupils and students shall be made 50 percent allowances from the respective tax.

Natural persons possessing more than one watch dog for a household, as well as the natural persons possessing pet dogs and hounds are to pay an annual tax contingent upon the number of dogs and their uses.

Under decree of the State Council the level of duty quotas and of the taxes will be established, which will be revised every five years, and the terms for payment and the way of raising them.

Recalling that the bill on duties and local taxes was published in the press and submitted to public debate, the speaker informed the Grand National Assembly that the document stirred keen interest with the population. Numerous letters were sent, whose authors express their agreement with the bill also advancing suggestions and proposals. They were analyzed most carefully and those of a nature to contribute to completing and improving the bill were kept, said Minister Petre Gigea in conclusion.

GNA Session Concludes

AU232032 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Dec (AGERPRES) -- On December 23 proceedings concluded in Bucharest of the Fourth Session of the Eighth Legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA]. During the afternoon session Petre Gigea, minister of finance, presented the rationale to the bill on duties and local taxes.

After discussing it article by article, the Grand National Assembly voted unanimously the law on duties and local taxes.

Next, Silviu Curticeanu, presidential secretary and secretary of the State Council presented the rationale to the bill on the endorsement of the decrees with power of law issued by the State Council, that the deputies voted unanimously.

At the last item on the agenda, the chairman of the Grand National Assembly submitted for approval proposals of the GNA bureau as concerns alterations in the composition of certain standing commissions, prompted by the fact that lately certain deputies, members of the standing commissions, have been appointed members of the government or diplomatic representatives, and certain positions have become vacant.

The Grand National Assembly endorsed unanimously the proposals referring to the alternation occurred in the composition of certain standing commissions.

BONUS SYSTEM FOR ADDITIONAL STATE DELIVERIES

AU211337 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Dec 81 p 2

["Additional Products for the State Stocks Means Substantially Higher Incomes" by Gheorghe Fierbinteanu, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry]

[Text] The new measures taken to encourage agricultural producers to deliver greater amounts of grain, industrial crops and other produce to the state stocks are part and parcel of the measures adopted, on the initiative of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to develop and modernize our agriculture, and to more rapidly increase agricultural production. It must be added that the decisions in question base the entire agricultural development program on economic principles, by appropriately linking production expenditures and prices and by providing a substantial material incentive for the producers. It is very important to note that bonuses have been established in accordance with products and with the needs of the national economy. In-depth economic calculations guarantee that the bonuses established reflect the need to increase production on the basis of the existing material basis, and to increase the producers' income in relation to each one's contribution to the state stocks and to fodder and seed stocks.

I want to emphasize the incentive provided by the decision, which envisages different bonuses ranging between an average of 30 percent up to 60 percent of contract prices for certain products. Thus, higher bonuses will be awarded for products such as: sugar beet, corn, wheat, rice, rye, field vegetables, sunflower, beans, potatoes, and so forth. Bonus amounts will be different in view of the fact that production costs differ from crop to crop and that profitability must be ensured; at the same time, the aim is to increase the contribution of field workers to utilizing the productive potential of the soil and to achieving increasingly large crops.

Here are several examples of bonus differentiation, designed to provide all producers with the incentive both to obtain large yields per hectare, and to sell larger quantities of produce to the state. Thus, the average bonus for corn, which is 42 percent of the contract price, is divided into 7 levels in accordance with the amount delivered to the state per hectare. Bonus amounts range between 205 and 650 lei per ton. For example, a 350 lei bonus will be awarded per ton for deliveries of 2001-3,000 kg per hectare; 430 lei per ton for deliveries of 3,000-4,000 kg per hectare, and 650 lei per ton for over 8,000 kg per hectare. The average bonus for sugar beet is of 59 percent. The differentiation is also calculated in relation to the produce obtained and sold to the state per hectare; 150 lei per ton for 25,000-30,000 kg per hectare; 225 lei per ton for 30,001-40,000 kg per hectare; 250 lei per ton for over 40,000 kg sugar beet per hectare sold to the state. The same system of differentiation is applied to fall potatoes, which ranges from 100 lei per ton for a production of 10,000-13,500 kg per hectare sold to the state up to 150 lei per ton for over 17,000 kg per hectare sold to the state. High bonuses for increased quantities of produce sold to the state are awarded for wheat, sunflower, beans, flax and hemp, field vegetables, medicinal plants and others.

Naturally, experts can calculate the additional profit made by their units on the basis of the bonus established for each crop. We will give an example of the profit that can be earned by an agricultural cooperative that cultivates corn on 550 hectares and delivers to state and fodder stocks 3,500 kg corn per hectare.

As a result of the application of the above decision, when delivery tasks are fulfilled, aside from the contract price of 1,270 lei per ton, the cooperative will draw a bonus of 430 lei per ton for the entire quantity delivered, that is, 828,000 lei. If a cooperative cultivates sunflower on 400 hectares and delivers 2,100 kg per hectare to the state stocks, it will receive an average contract price of 2,680 lei per ton, and under the present decision, a bonus of 720 lei per ton for the quantity delivered, that is 604,000 lei. Needless to say, if the above corn, sunflower or any other production is exceeded, incomes become substantially higher, as a result of both increased production and deliveries to state stocks, and of the higher bonuses awarded in such cases.

The implementation of measures to stimulate agricultural production and to base on economic principles the entire process of developing agriculture will ensure implementation of the party program on improving consumer supplies of agricultural and food products and on meeting other requirements of the national economy.

INCREASED PRODUCTION MEASURES FOR FARMS IN HILLS

AU211101 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Dec (AGERPRES) -- Concomitantly with the intensive development and modernization of the state and cooperative agriculture Romania ensures conditions for an increased production of the population's individual homesteads and, through a series of recent measures, it pursues to enhancing the role of non-cooperativeed agriculture practices in hilly and mountain regions.

The economic resources of the hilly and mountain areas are substantial. The approximately 585,000 individual homesteads (over two million inhabitants) in these regions hold 1.4 million hectares of arable land, some one million cattle, 2.3 million sheep and 900,000 pigs. Besides animal breeding, fruit-tree growing is another basic trade of the inhabitants of these areas while the about 470,000 hectares of arable land are cultivated with cereals, potatoes and fodder plants.

The share of the individual homesteads in the total production of the country is of 20 per cent with potatoes, 14 per cent with fruit, 9 per cent with vegetables, 4 per cent with cereals, 13.5 per cent with meat, 22 per cent with cow milk and 29.4 per cent with sheep milk, almost 13 per cent with wool, 17.2 per cent with eggs, etc.

In order to enhance the contribution of the agriculture in hilly and mountain regions the Romanian state has taken a series of measures, now to be materialized, among which: setting up of farm machinery stations, manufacture of a full range of farm machinery and equipment to operate on slopes, provision of well-bred animals, high-yield seedlings and seeds, performance of wide-scope soil erosion control and fertilization works, improvement of specialized assistance.

Likewise, the cooperation among individual homesteads has been developed -- through the setting up of farm producers' councils and animal breeders' associations -- as well as the cooperation between them and the socialist sector. Other economic activities -- such as small-scale processing and handicraft industries, services to the population -- have been expanded contributing to the economic and social development of the hilly and mountain regions in Romania.

BURTICA RECEIVES CUBAN TRADE OFFICIAL 23 DEC

AU231932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Dec (AGERPRES) -- On December 23, Cornel Burtica, Romanian deputy prime minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation conducted talks with Jose de la Fuente, deputy minister of foreign trade of the Republic of Cuba referring to the development of trade exchanges and to bilateral economic cooperation.

LATEST REPORTAGE ON MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND

'New Restrictions'

AU232102 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[BORBA permanent correspondent Lazar Martinovic report from Warsaw]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Dec -- Although the Polish people do not reconcile themselves to martial law, they are forced to gradually get used to it. It has already been 6 days that the country has been living in the circumstances that are drastically different from normal ones. The country's functioning and the lives of citizens are subordinated to the brutal provisions of the decree on martial law which envisages exceptionally rigorous bans and restrictions and very strict sanctions. These are very difficult and sad days which the Poles are experiencing as a historical national drama.

Intensified Restrictions

The public is constantly facing new restrictions. Today's free Saturday has been proclaimed a working day throughout the state administration and in a large part of the economy and services. According to the decree on martial law, in the militarized enterprises, and they constitute the majority, the working week can be extended from 6 to 7 days and the working day up to 12 hours. It is assumed that the authorities will take advantage of this possilbility.

Further suspensions of the activities of various organizations continue. The work of the Democratic Youth Union has been banned and the government Presidium has dissolved its committee for cooperation with the trade unions. A sociopolitical committee has been formed instead. It was not explained why the first committee was abolished and what the tasks of the new government organ are. The government's anticrisis staff has also been abolished.

For all practical purposes, out of all social and political organizations, only the PZPR and the two allied parties -- the Democratic party and the ZSL [United Peasant's Party] -- continue to function. As of today, the latter is allowed to resume publishing its newspaper.

No changes have occurred thus far in the rigorous restrictions on the rights and freedoms of citizens. On the contrary, these restrictions have been intensified. This refers primarily to the possibility of movement and travel. A collection of legal regulations which regulate the functioning of the state and the lives of citizens under the conditions of martial law was published. Prominent representatives of the military prosecutor's office and the supreme military court explained on television last night the procedure in case of a violation of the provisions of the decree on martial law.

The conviction prevails among observers here that martial law in Poland will last a long time. It is stated officially that martial law will end when peace and order are ensured in the country.

The curfew continues to be in force and the borders are for the most part closed. Only some international charter flights carrying foreign citizens leaving Poland and bringing back Poles who were out of the country are operating. No regular domestic or international route has yet been established. Military units continue to be found in the streets, but there are fewer heavy arms. Telecommunications are still interrupted.

The only two telephone dispatches shown on television last night came from Gdansk and Katowice, the two regions where most disturbances and tragic events took place. From Gdansk it was reported that 324 persons were wounded in the demonstrations on Wednesday night, that 290 persons were sent home after being treated and that 34 persons have been admitted for treatment. It was stressed that the wounded show no signs that firearms were used against them. From Katowice it was reported that this region has taken the deaths of seven miners very badly, but that the situation is being normalized.

It is reported that mines are operating, including the Wujek mine where the tragedy occurred. It is also said that strong military forces broke the blockade at the Lenin iron mill near Krakow in which the collective had been on strike since Sunday.

Deserted Markets

The latest announcement of the Military Council of National Salvation says that the economy is moving after a standstill and that production, work discipline and productivity are improving. It is also stressed that the chance to prevent a further drop in national income now exists. The role of military commissars is particularly stressed.

However, no improvement has been noticed on the market. The lines for basic foodstuffs are getting longer in the bitter cold. Citizens continue to be sold 1 kg of bread, while today's DZIENNIK LUDOWY announces the rationing of bread. The food and vegetable markets are nearly deserted.

Ever since the proclamation of martial law, no prominent political figure has made a public statement. The work of the parliamentary commissions, which discussed a package of new bills, has begun. The government has announced the introduction of certain elements of economic reform which do not contradict the conditions of martial law.

The official information media do not record any violations of the regulations of the decree on martial law. On the contrary, it is claimed that the situation in the country is calm and that production and life continue without "any major" disturbances. Only on the basis of a report by the general prosecutor's office on arrests of citizens is it possible to conclude that in Gdansk, Olsztyn, Walbrych, Ostroleka and some other places, disturbances and strikes have taken place.

The information media try to present arguments to justify the need for introducing martial law. In doing this, they use various materials confiscated at Solidarity headquarters or in the apartments of certain leaders. Citizens are also constantly warned, as the military newspaper appeals, not to be reckless because "the price of life is too high."

The telegram of the Military Council of National Salvation to Brezhnev on the occasion of his birthday which was signed, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and the highest state organs, by Jaruzelski and Jablonski, states, among other things, that Poland stands unwaveringly on the foundations of strengthening the idea of socialism, independence and sovereignty and that it resolutely strives toward a democratic development in the spirit of socialist renewal and the implementation of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism under Polish national conditions.

Plea for Normalization

LD262234 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2116 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG) -- In a commentary on the two-week-long state of emergency in Poland, the Yugoslav daily POLITIKA notes that the rigorous regime of the military authorities has not succeeded in completely pacifying the country of the Solidarity trade union, by way of an eventual mass counter-offensive, in preventing the implementation of the state of emergency.

Peace has on the whole been maintained, but the tension has not disappeared, the paper says.

The daily writes about the hitherto moves of the military authorities who insist on the strict implementation of military measures, describing them as "a necessary evil." Efforts are being invested to achieve at least initial improvements in supplying the population and in the work of the shaken economic and state apparatus. Although weakened by its earlier compromised policy and internal division, the Polish United Workers Party is "mobilizing" in order to revive its activities. Regardless of the present circumstances, endeavours are being made not to abandon the line of "broad national accord" or "socialist renewal."

Contacts with the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church are continuing so that it could participate in the attempts to stabilize the situation.

The military authorities stress that the Solidarity trade union has only been suspended, not abolished, which might mean that this trade union might renew its work after the normalisation of the situation and even resume its place as partner in future negotiations but with a difference stance.

The sooner the situation returns to normal and the state starts functioning on democratic principles, the easier it will be to embark upon seeking a comprehensive solution to the serious problems confronting Poland, POLITIKA concludes.

Jaruzelski-Poggi Talks

LD271816 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1704 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Rome, 27 Dec (TANJUG) -- It is believed here that the Vatican attaches great importance to the fact that Jaruzelski has received the pope's envoy, Monsignor Poggi, who returned here last night and immediately reported to the pontiff. Poggi delivered to Jaruzelski the pope's personal message, and brought Jaruzelski's reply to the Vatican.

Jaruzelski's gesture is seen here as strengthening hopes that the launched negotiations between the Vatican and the Polish episcopate on the one hand, and the military council of Poland on the other, will continue and, possibly, bring fruit.

Quarters in Rome claim that from Jaruzelski's statements and the news it receives from Warsaw, the Vatican has deduced impressions which are not discouraging.

Jaruzelski's statement that the church has the right to perform its mission and that there is still enough room for a trade union "which would not be political", has been received with attention.

For the time being, the Vatican keeps confidential the content of the Jaruzelski-Poggi talks and the content of Jaruzelski's answer to the pope's message.

BAJRA HOLDS TALKS WITH POLISH AMBASSADOR

AU241316 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 81 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- Yesterday, Ismail Bajra, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for information, received Wiktor Kinecki, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the SFRY, at his request. Certain questions concerning cooperation in the field of information were discussed during a long talk held on that occasion.

GRLICKOV ADDRESSES ASSEMBLY DELEGATES ON POLAND

AU242008 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] At a meeting of the Delegates' Club in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly today, Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, talked to the club members. The international aspects of the events in Poland were particularly discussed.

UNIONS EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT POLISH SITUATION

'Danger of Outside Interference'

AU242010 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation Council at its session today pointed out the great concern of our workers class at the introduction of martial law in Poland.

It was said that the concern was a consequence of both the development of the situation in Poland itself, where the crisis continues and is deepening, and the serious aggravation of the international situation about Poland. The danger of outside interference is increasing as the creation of conditions for a way out of the crisis is receding.

Respecting and supporting the exclusive right of the people and the workers class of Poland to find a way out of the grave situation by themselves, without outside interference, the members of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade union Confederation expressed their conviction that a solution to the serious socioeconomic crisis in Poland can be found along a democratic path, through accords and agreements of socialist and other democratic forces of Polish society on the basis of social and economic reforms. In this process, the role of the workers class and the trade unions is irreplaceable, the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation stresses.

Statement Issued

LD251156 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec, (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav trade unions have expressed the Yugoslav working class' concern over the developments in Poland following the imposition of the state of war.

A statement released after yesterday's session of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions Confederation says that the concern arises because of both the growing and deepening crisis in Poland itself and the serious aggravation of the international situation around Poland.

The Yugoslav trade unions assessed that the less prospects there are for finding a way out of the crisis, the danger of foreign interference increases.

The council supported the Polish people's and working class' exclusive right to autonomously and without any outside interference find a way out of the present difficult situation. In this context, the members of the council's presidency expressed their confidence that a solution to the serious social and economic crisis can be found in a democratic way, through dialogue and agreement among the socialist and other democratic forces in the Polish society. The Yugoslav trade unions underline that this must be done on the basis of social and economic reforms which genuinely reflect the aspirations of the working class and needs of Poland's socialist development.

At the end of the statement, the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions Confederation emphasizes that the role of the working class and trade unions is irreplaceable in this process.

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON BREZHNEV INTERVIEW, POLAND

LD242240 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Leonid Brezhnev's interview to the American television network NBC, and Reagan's reply that he is ready to meet with the Soviet leader, have created a ray of hope that the two superpowers will succeed in overcoming the abyss which divides them. This is all the more so if one bears in mind the peaceful dialogue between the Soviet and U.S. negotiators in Geneva on disarmament and the meeting envisaged between Gromyko and Haig at the start of next year. However, the fact that Brezhnev's interview was recorded on 4 December, 9 days before the introduction of martial law in Poland, and in view of the United State's increasingly pronounced involvement, both diplomatic and economic, against General Jaruzelski's decision, the planned possible meeting between Brezhnev and Reagan is again brought into question.

It is true that the United States was informed in good time that a decision to introduce martial law in Poland was being prepared, and this might have mitigated the above conclusion to a certain extent [as heard]. However, since the U.S.-Soviet confrontation in connection with the events in Poland has been deepening daily, it is not very likely that it will subside. This is also indicated by the U.S. President's decision to suspend some concessions which Poland had, and to stop credits on which Poland had been counting. It is difficult to believe that such behavior by the United States will contribute to calming the situation in Poland, and it will do even less to alleviate the difficult position of the Poles, who with everything that has happened to them, are also confronted with shortages of the most basic food products. However, there is the hope that the countries of Western Europe, at least on the question of food deliveries, will not join in with the United States.

In his interview to the U.S. television network, Brezhnev said that the issue of whether the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war will decrease or increase depends on the outcome of the current talks in Geneva. By all accounts, Brezhnev was not referring to the very beginning of the Geneva talks, for not much is expected of them, but to the complexity of the arms race which the two super powers have imposed on each other. But if it is true that the United States and the USSR have for a long time been in constant conflict because of their differing attitudes towards sensitive spots in the world -- where in fact their interests cross, or rather come into conflict, above all their military-stratetic interests -- then any kind of more meaningful change in the sphere of disarmament cannot even be considered.

Hence it seems that the situation in Poland will have a negative effect, even as a pretext, on the progress and outcome of the Geneva disarmament talks. This seems even more evident since for the time being there are no prospects that the Polish events will be separated from the general trend between the blocs and within them. This is also demonstrated by Reagan's Christmas message which was aimed at the Poles.

Although it does not reject the idea of a meeting between Reagan and Brezhnev, as things are now, the United States will not rush to agree to carrying out the Soviet leader's initiative in the near future. This in practical terms means that neither a calming of international tension nor an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations is expected. On the contrary, all the indications are that the world is entering into an ever deepening and extremely dangerous crisis.

SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN: 'FAILURE'

LD271806 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1628 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG) -- Over the last two years, the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan has proven itself to be a failure which caused multi-fold damage mostly to Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is in civil war which is not abating in greatest part due to the Soviet military intervention. Foreign tanks are not capable of consolidating a regime which neither enjoys full support even of the ruling party nor even minimal trust of the people.

The Soviet military intervention suited the counter-revolution in Afghanistan. The intervention enabled the counter-revolutionary forces to turn their conflict with the regime into a national liberation war.

The international community, and non-aligned countries in particular, continue condemning the Soviet Union over its military intervention in Afghanistan. The intervention was again, for the third time, condemned by the United Nations General Assembly this autumn.

Reagan's Remarks Noted

LD281024 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0945 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] New York, 28 Dec (TANJUG) -- The U.S. President has appealed to the Soviet Union to comply with calls from other countries and withdraw its troops from Afghanistan so that Afghanistan could renew its independence and nonalignment with a government to suit its peoples' wishes.

On the occasion of the 2d anniversary of the intervention in Afghanistan, the U.S. President came out with the view that the people of Afghanistan was going on with offering resistance and would do so as long as the Soviet Union would not withdraw from its territory. The U.S. will support the cause of a free Afghanistan, President Reagan said.

The forces of resistance in Afghanistan have been acting more and more efficiently, it was emphasized in Washington. The strength of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was increased by 5,000 and now amounts to 90,000 troops, it was claimed. To date, 5,000 Soviet troops have been killed in Afghanistan and another 5,000 have been wounded, it was estimated.

The number of insurgents is some 90,000, whereas the forces of the Kabul government are put at 30,000.

According to U.S. sources, the insurgents have 90 percent of Afghanistan under their control, particularly in the provinces of Kandhar and Herat.

DRAGOSAVAC SENDS BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO BREZHNEV

AU221431 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 81 p 1

[Text] Dr Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and his own behalf, greetings to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the occasion of the latter's 75th birthday with best wishes for good health, long life and new successes in the responsible work for the benefit of the friendly peoples of the USSR.

The greetings message expresses satisfaction over the successful development of the relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU and between our two socialist countries and stresses that we highly appreciate the contribution which Comrade Brezhnev, together with Comrade Tito, has made to the successful development of the Yugoslav-Soviet relations. The contribution which Leonid Brezhnev made in the struggle for a relaxation of international tension and for peace in the world is also stressed.

The telegram expresses the conviction that the friendly relations and equitable cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU and between our two countries will continue to develop and be promoted successfully, and notes that the development of such relations and cooperation on the basis of jointly adopted principles is in the permanent interest of the peoples of the SFRY and the USSR, equitable international cooperation, peace, social progress and socialism in the world.

MORE ON DEATH OF ALBANIA'S MEHMET SHEHU

NIN Cited

LD251506 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Belgrade weekly NIN writes that the mysterious death of "number two man" of the Albanian state and party, chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu, has aroused great worldwide interest as well as suspicions and all sorts of speculation that it involves a "top-level squaring of accounts."

Citing Western sources NIN writes that the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour held a session in Tirana on December 17 (on the eve of Shehu's suicide). During the session, attended by all members of the Central Committee, there was an alleged conflict between Enver Hoxha and Shehu, according to the sources.

[On] the session's agenda is supposed to have figured the question of "Albania's opening to the world", NIN writes. In support of this (?suggestion) Shehu is claimed to have had a few days before his death a number of meetings with foreign representatives including a Greek economic delegation, a trade delegation from Romania and a number of Western ambassadors in Tirana. As a champion of the policy of Albania's gradual opening to the world, the sources claim, Shehu lost the duel at the session after which he was either forced to commit suicide or was murdered.

NIN notes that following the announcement of Shehu's suicide Tirana radio broadcast no more news in connection with the event. There were no changes whatever in Tirana radio programmes -- its spoken and musical programmes continued as usual.

Secretary of the Albanian Party of Labour Ramis Alia and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Adil Carcani are being mentioned as Shehu's most likely successors, the Belgrade weekly writes.

In its today's edition NIN also publishes an article by Arbo Milatovic who was Yugoslavia's ambassador to Albania between 1956 and 1959 and who knew Shehu personally.

Milatovic stresses that Shehu was for 33 years a "consistent executor of state and party decisions initiated by Enver Hoxha at the helm of the party and state." In corroboration of this claim Milatovic writes that Shehu took part in all political and party about-turns in Albania's internal and foreign policy, in all liquidations of party and state leaders, in all ruthless restrictions of the freedoms of, and the imposition of force on, Albanian citizens.

Suicide Followed AWP Plenum

AU251650 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] A plenum of the AWP Central Committee was held in Tirana on 17 December, TANJUG learns from well-informed diplomatic circles in London. The same circles add that the plenum, which lasted until the morning of 18 December, discussed the economic and internal development of the country and Albania's relations with foreign countries. It is believed that positions were expressed at the plenum requesting that Albania open up to the world more. Views on this differed, and there are no reports on what conclusions the AWP plenum adopted.

Well-informed diplomatic circles in London observe that the plenum session coincided with the death of Premier Mehmet Shehu. It was officially announced in Tirana that he committed suicide at a moment of nervous breakdown at dawn on 18 December.

MAJOR TALKS WITH BCP DELEGATION 25 DEC

Cooperation Discussed

LD251920 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG) -- Central Committee Presidency Executive Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Nandor Major today had talks with members of a delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by Deputy Head of the Department of Science and Education in the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Stepan Chernev.

Nandor Major and members of the Bulgarian delegation discussed the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the area of science, culture and education.

The Bulgarian Communist Party delegation is in Yugoslavia within the framework of the program of cooperation with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party visited in the course of its stay in Yugoslavia the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Croatia where it had talks in educational and scientific institutions. Members of the Bulgarian delegation had closing talks in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Delegation Departs 26 Dec

LD262156 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG) -- A study delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) led by Deputy Head of the BCP Central Committee Department for Science and Education Stepan Chernev, ended tonight its visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

During the visit the Bulgarian delegation was acquainted with the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the spheres of culture, science and education.

STANDING JOINT COMMITTEES WITH BULGARIA MEET

Scientific, Technical Cooperation

AU252101 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The fourth regular session of the standing mixed Yugoslav-Bulgarian commission for scientific and technical cooperation held in Sofia has adopted a program of cooperation for the coming year and the first long-term cooperation program between the two countries until 1985. It was said that this long-term cooperation program opens up fresh prospects for developing and deepening cooperation and specialization and other forms of scientific and technical cooperation between the two neighboring countries.

Border Traffic Commission

AU252103 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The ninth regular session of the standing mixed Yugoslav-Bulgarian commission for regulating local border traffic of persons in the border zone has concluded in Sofia. It was noted that the local border traffic of persons on both sides of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian borders has increased.

MSZMP'S NEMETH CONCLUDES VISIT 19 DEC

AU241317 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 81 p 2

[Text] Belgrade -- Yesterday, Karoly Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, who visited our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, left for Budapest. At the Belgrade railroad station, the Hungarian guest was seen off by Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

TRADE PROTOCOL FOR 1982 SIGNED WITH ROMANIA

AU252059 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The talks between the delegations of Yugoslavia and Romania have concluded in Belgrade with the signing of a trade protocol for next year. It was assessed that in 1982 one should strive to further expand and increase the volume and quality of the trade in goods and services, which is in the interest of the two neighboring friendly socialist countries.

DATA ON COMMODITY EXCHANGE WITH PRC REPORTED

LD231412 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1343 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- According to information from the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, the value of commodity and services exchange between Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of China amounted to around 54 million dollars in the January-November period this year.

Of this sum Yugoslav exports to China totalled 21.4 million dollars. Ship engines, agricultural machinery, synthetic fibres, fibres, fertilizers, buses and teleprinters made up the bulk of exports to China, while Yugoslavia imported from that country consumer goods and rare metals.

The value of bilateral commodity exchange is expected to reach around 60 million dollars by the end of the year.

MILOS MINIC DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL TOPICS

LD261404 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Dec (TANJUG) -- At the present juncture, Yugoslavia's international position continues to be sound and stable and in that respect there are no particularly new elements as compared with last year and, in general, the proceeding years when Comrade Tito was alive, said Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, in an interview granted to the VJESNIK newspaper's "Seven Days" supplement.

He said Yugoslavia had continued to pursue the same foreign policy which was pursued while the country and the LCY were led by Comrade Tito, who right from the creation of new Yugoslavia to his death had been not only the main creator of the entire concept of our foreign policy but had also made the greatest contribution to the attainment of its goal.

Appraising 1981 in international terms, Milos Minic stated that it proved we were in a decade which, according to all the signs, would be a hard one, primarily because the confrontation between the great powers and the blocs -- and especially between the Soviet Union and the United States -- was certain to continue, and also because of the continuation of the arms race, which was being joined also by countries which belong to the Nonaligned Movement, and because of the crisis flashpoints in the world. He stressed that everything pointed to the conclusion that there will be a continuation of the use of force, interference in internal affairs and military and other destabilizing actions against smaller countries, especially nonaligned ones, in spite of the increasingly strong resistance by nonaligned and other countries to this kind of behavior by the great powers and individual other countries.

Replying to a question as to whether nonaligned countries were the only ones that were capable of starting concrete initiatives aimed at settling international problems, Milos Minic said they displayed unity in striving for a positive development of the international situation and for settling the gravest and most difficult problems, but differences persist in the Nonaligned Movement and, judging by all the signs, some of these differences are growing more acute. Those countries which at one time advocated, "natural alliance" with the socialist community and so forth, continue in practice to maintain this attitude, aggravating the conflict with the United States over certain issues and trying to steer the whole movement into a conflict with the Western (?world), pointing out that President Reagan's policy is, regrettably, grist to the mill for these countries, because in certain regions it encourages the elements of conflict with the whole movement.

Milos Minic warned that "unless nonaligned countries find the energy to prevent pressures [word indistinct] and I believe that as a movement they will find the energy to do so -- these pressures could to a great extent reduce the ability of the Nonaligned Movement to involve itself in the settling of international problems."

Milos Minic said that in the policy of nearly all the great powers there was a tendency to participate in the efforts to solve the problems of developing countries less through multilateral international actions and more through bilateral relations with developing countries. In his view, it is a pity the Soviet Union did not attend the meeting in Cancun, because today one should not look backward but forward. "The more developed ones should help the underdeveloped ones," he noted.

Replying to a question on the influence of the intensification of the revolutionary process and of the progress toward changing the existing state of affairs in several countries [words indistinct], Milos Minic stressed that these trends are not manifesting themselves in underdeveloped countries alone, but also in those with highly-developed parliamentary systems, where the left is making progress, such as in France and Greece.

"Among these processes is also all that is taking place in Poland today. This process in Poland has also reached the widest proportions. Despite all the complexity and the latest events caused by the introduction of martial law, the character of this process is the same as that of the other processes of the progressive socialist changes in social relations."

Speaking about our country's readiness to face various problems and difficulties and to continue to develop on the basis of socialist self-management and be one of the most active nonaligned countries, Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in this connection that it is very important that "we should successfully settle the problems of our development and remain internally stable and united, in other words be a stable, united and strong socialist self-managing society and state." "Now and for a number of years -- one can say all the way up to 1985 -- the key question of the stability, unity and strength of our socialist community is that of the successful realization of the goals of economic stabilization," he added.

In this respect, Milos Minic particularly pointed out the state of our economic relations with foreign countries, noting that this state could only be improved by a rapid increase in exports, primarily to the developed countries of the West. He [words indistinct] that our real export to the countries of the covertible area must not be allowed to drop, as all the signs indicate will be the case with real exports this year. Equally important for the consolidation of our position in the international division of labor and on the world market is the volume of our cooperation with the developing countries. As far back as 1973, the SFRY Assembly set us a realistic and attainable target in this field that developing countries should account for 25 percent of our total exchange with foreign countries, but we have never exceeded the 16 or 17 percent mark.

Milos Minic said that this year again our economy had demonstrated its vitality and succeeded in ensuring [word indistinct] production in difficult conditions of economic activity in the world and at home.

Commenting on our relations with Albania and Bulgaria, he stated that it was not difficult to prove the existence of elements of greater-Bulgarian nationalism in Bulgaria's policy toward our country, which hindered the development of complete, genuine and (?comprehensive) good-neighborly cooperation. "The main danger of the policy which is pursued toward Yugoslavia by Albania, and in a certain sense by Bulgaria as well, does not lie in the fact that their policy is not characterized by an atmosphere of good-neighborly cooperation and mutual trust.

The main danger from their pursuit of this kind of policy is that the great powers can become involved in it unless they have not already become involved in a certain sense of the word. Any interference by the great powers between Yugoslavia and Albania and in relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria would lead to an unstable situation in the Balkans, and in that event our country's position would change to a considerable extent. Then we, too, would have to adopt a quite different approach and take (?into account) the even more serious dangers to our country which could result from such a situation." Milos Minic stated among other things in the interview granted to the VJESNIK newspaper's "Seven Days" supplement.

REPORTAGE ON LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

LD232300 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Report on proceedings at the 23d LCY Central Committee Session held on 23 December in Belgrade]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- Svetislav Simic was the first participant in the discussion on the ideopolitical foundations for changes and additions to the LCY statute to which the 23d session of the LCY Central Committee today was devoted.

The substance of the changes must be expressed in further elaboration, clarification and addenda to the existing orientations in the statutes of the Leagues of Communists.

The statutes of the Leagues of Communists are altogether permeated with the thought and policy fought for by Comrade Tito during the many years of his revolutionary work and all future changes must embody his ideas and must consistently follow the path of socialist self-management development. In supporting the proposal that in its introductory part the LCY statute should fully stress Comrade Tito's historical role, I propose that the text which will be contained in the LCY statute should be incorporated also in the statutes of the Leagues of Communists of the republics and the provinces.

Dragoljub Stavrev stressed that the League of Communists must openly and critically assess the state of our actual degree of organization and train for the implementation of the league's leading revolutionary ideopolitical role, so that we can clarify specific questions and provide a clear and correct answer to the dilemmas emerging in practice.

The report [by Mikulic] makes a realistic assessment of the results achieved and of the weaknesses in League of Communists activity, and the solutions which are proposed for the further improvement of the LCY statute will basically make more efficient activity by the League of Communists in society possible, Ljubomir Cupic said.

He went on to speak about the experiences so far in implementing various forms of ideopolitical activity and action organizing by the League of Communists in Vojvodina and he said that they must develop as a component part of the method of work of members and basic organizations of the League of Communists for more efficient activity in self-managing organs, in delegations, delegate bodies and other sociopolitical organizations. In the first stage of such forms being realized there has been quite a lack of understanding, confusion and even organizational problems in some environments.

The situation began to change when, 2 and 1/2 years ago, we carried out the first critical analysis of the situation and of problems in practice. After all, he said, the application of more flexible forms of ideopolitical activity and organizational linking up by basic League of Communists organizations is also called for by the self-management practice in every environment.

Members of the League of Communists grasp the danger arising from the isolationism of basic organizations of associated labor within the frameworks of narrow one-sided interests as well as from slowing down the process of coordinating varous interests in the development sphere, in income-based integration, in the pooling of labor and resources, and the like. It is precisely in these environments that the initiative for broader agreement-seeking by communists, with the aim of strengthening the ideopolitical and action unity of basic League of Communists organizations and with the aim of overcoming these phenomena, has become manifest.

Debates on the need to introduce factory committees are being called for by individuals and groups from technobureaucratic structures, individual members of the League of Communists from former League of Communists leaderships, in the desire to retain old relations, the acquired monopoly position and the political power of decision-making not only in the League of Communists but also further afield.

Lately, Cupic went on, in a considerable number of work and composite organizations of associated labor, the activity concerned with finding the most appropriate forms and methods of activity is developing more and more, activity aimed at ensuring the unity of action by the League of Communists on joint issues.

However, in practice, a certain lack of understanding and confusion is still present, even on some basic issues. For instance, initiatives to hold such meetings are insufficient and at times too great a significance is attached to the preparations, and this often has the consequence of a long time elapsing from the time the initiative is born to its realization.

The other problem is the fate of the recommendations adopted. There is still not enough activity by League of Communists members and basic organizations, and even by League of Communists organs in implementing the adopted recommendations at thematic conferences and consultative meetings. Bearing in mind the problems in practice, I think, Cupic said, that the LCY statute should say something more precise on the significance of recommendations.

The 2-year practice of collective work, decision-making and responsibility and of the 1-year mandate in the League of Communists has yielded certain results but not to the desired extent and not evenly at all levels, Milos Zoric noted. For in a number of environments, in League of Communists organs in municipalities and lower forms of action organizing, formality has prevailed.

Due to the tendencies of insuffient respect for formal implementation of collective work, decision-making and responsibility, the LCY statute should, in its individual provisions, raise and explain in concrete terms the obligations and responsibilities in this sphere.

A certain measure should be retained in order that the statute not be too voluminous, too weighed down by formulations which are implied or which are contained in the LCY program, Vlado Sekulic stressed and went on to say that he backed those orientations which proceed from the premise that the organizational principles be consolidated and adapted to the conditions in which the League of Communists now operates. But, these basic principles, which represent the basic characteristics of the LCY as a unified organization of Yugoslav communists, should be equally valid for all units of the LCY because this is of principled significance for the League of Communists. I therefore believe that it would not be desirable that there be differences in the League of Communists concerning the duration of the mandate, the formation of the organs of the basic functions and so forth, which would inevitably cause certain problems for the entire League of Communists. Sekulic recalled that Kardelj sounded a serious warning about these issues at the debates on the changes of the statute before the 11th LCY Congress.

Sekulic added that the analyses of statutory organs, and in particular analysis on the application of measures of statutory responsibility in the League of Communists, point to tendencies of restricting some rights of League of Communists members, established by the statute, also being continuously present.

This is sometimes done under the shield of elaborating and applying the statute and thus, in some statutory decisions, only the technical aspects are determined, down to the finest detail, as to when and why somebody ceases to be a League of Communists member and is struck off party records. This is usually a mechanical striking off the list without any decisions or political assessments, when, in their view, there is no need to form a comradely council, or one is formed to work as a body with permanent members in order to "catch" mistakes and propose measures, often by order of bureaucratic arbitrariness, and all this is not elaboration but deviation from the spirit of the statute and of relations which prevail in the League of Communists. I stress this in order to point out that similar tendencies could also be present when changing the present statute, in view of the momentary difficulties which we have. I would, therefore, not be in favor of restricting or taking away any right of a League of Communists member which is regulated by the statute, including the right of a member to retain his view along with additional statutory obligations, all the more so since examples of pressures being exerted on a member stating his view on issues within the jurisdiction of other organs in order to conceal or verify one's own weaknesses, are not rare.

Setting out his observations from various party meetings in Croatia, Franjo Varga said that proposals were at hand stressing the need to spell out statute stipulations on democratic centralism, individual and collective responsibility, publicity of work and information, criticism and self-criticism and responsibility for the implementation of the adopted decisions, stands and conclusions of League of Communists organizations and organs. Varga then said that the need was stressed for League of Communists organs and forums, ranging from municipal organization to the LCY, to be organized and constituted along unified lines. This is coupled with the proposal that the names of League of Communists organs should be standardized and all these matters should be regulated in the LCY statute and in accordance with it also in the statutes of the Leagues of Communists of the republics and provinces.

Speaking of the consolidation of basic organizations of League of Communists, Franjo Varga said that the League of Communists has grown to over 65,000 basic organizations as against 3,000 in 1974. This growth in the number of basic organizations and their incorporation into the basic cells of society has not been carried out simply by their division and separation according to the basic organizations of associated labor, local communities and self-management work organizations, but by constant cadre strengthening and rejuvenation of the League of Communists. It is a fact, Varga stressed, that we are still coming up against sectarianism in the matter of workers' admission into League of Communists membership in workers organizations, while the number of members in the basic organizations of many work communities is growing in a far more dynamic way.

Fatima Hadzialic stressed that in the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina during the past 2 years considerable progress has been made in the organizational and general training of municipal and basic organizations of the League of Communists. However, there are still a number of questions in practice which have to be promoted further both in the work of the municipal and, particularly, in the work of basic League of Communists organizations.

I consider it to be very important, Fatima Hadzialic went on to say, that League of Communists statutes should particularly work out the role and the tasks of the Secretariats and of the secretaries of the League of Communists basic organizations because in present conditions, in addition to those organizations which very successfully fulfill their role, there are League of Communists organizations of which this cannot be said.

The statute of the LCY, relying on the program and past congresses, Hrvoje Istuk stressed, should express even more the substance of the relations in it, make it possible for the statutes of the Leagues of Communists of the republics and provinces to declare every specific feature an, all of them together, should be a powerful guideline for the activity and behavior of members, organizations and leaderships of the Leagues of Communists.

Wholesale assessments of our situations and of our problems, in particular when that which is general, which is ours, which is Yugoslav, that which links us is forgotten, often damages LCY unity, Hrvoje Istuk stressed. Any isolationism, be it described as municipal, regional, republican or Yugoslav, isolationism within the area of work organizations, Hrvoje Istuk stressed, has negative implications for our federal system, and, in the final analysis, also for Yugoslavia's integrity. Because any isolationism is a consequence of etatist power or of etatist tendencies.

In this connection he stressed that the worst thing was when one-sided interests are defended by an alleged national interest, or when a Yugoslav or state-aspiring meaning is attributed. We must be exceptionally vigilant toward tendencies of establishing political and economic hegemonism in our community.

From the point of view of unity, Istuk said, the significance of the responsibility of League of Communists members for the public word and public act is exceptional. We have already encountered an onslaught in the public by individuals who interpret by their own criteria, who falsify certain events or who provide material which gives free rein to petit bourgeois attitudes. For some time already monologues are being held under a shield of democratic dialogue and the League of Communists and its leadership are being lectured to. Some debates, by their arbitrariness and tendentiousness, have given reasons to oppositionists to install themselves in some editorial boards of information media, periodicals and publishing houses; they no longer have to make a demand for a special medium and they can speak publicly without encountering any resistance.

In connection with the proposal of the commission that all politico-executive organs be elected in the same way, be secret vote or by public acclamation, Joze Smole opted for the election of executive organs by secret voting.

Marko Kalodjera stressed that in the preparations so far for the 12th LCY Congress and the 7th conference of the LCY organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army, organizational and statutory issues have been the subject of discussions by a considerable number of communists, organs and working bodies in the army organization of the LCY. The orientations voiced in these debates point out the need for certain changes and supplements to the LCY statute.

Tendencies of democratic centralism have emerged not because of weakness or insufficient statutory norms on democratic centralism as our fundamental principle but on account of the political practice in which there have been both violations and deviations. Such practices, Kalodjera went on, have fanned the tendencies mentioned and the struggle against them will not be won by changing the statute, no matter how well-intentioned and good these changes might be.

Milos Minic stressed that the entire development of the LCY in the past three decades has been moving in the direction of the democratization of relations in the LCY within the framework of the democratization and development of self-management which has been going on in the whole of society. In this process, Minic went on, there have always been tendencies in the League of Communists toward consolidating and spreading democratism and tendencies toward restricting democratism and even undemocratic tendencies in many organizations. [as received]

Recalling that the LCY congresses, from the sixth to the 11th, have confirmed and encouraged tendencies of strengthening democratism in the LCY and in society, that Comrade Tito and Comrade Kardelj had always insisted on this, Minic went on: The League of Communists cannot objectively lag behind in the development of democratic relations in its ranks without coming into conflict with the process of democratization which is strengthening in socialist self-management and in the whole of society and in all social relations. Were the League of Communists to lag behind in this, in spreading democratism in relations in the League of Communists, inevitably and unavoidably it would begin to separate itself from the working class and from socialist self-management and experience all kinds of deformations.

Milos Minic expressed the conviction that the 12th congress decisions will encourage the strengthening of democratism in the League of Communists within the context of the consolidation of the process of socialist self-management. He presented some of his views and proposals in favor of such a development.

Minic went on to say: First, I believe that one could make a contribution to democratism in the League of Communists by the election of members of leaderships, their officials and their political and executive organs being based on the candidature of several delegates.

Some believe and say that the focal point is not the length of the mandate or the election of the president but the qualitative composition of assembling, of League of Communists organs and of all other organs in strengthening their responsibility toward the working people and citizens, this is beyond dispute. I think that there is nobody among us who does not share this view, that it is important to bear in mind the quality of the people in the forums. I think that this is beyond dispute. In this context, an essential component of the cadre policy, in the view of some people, is to register the proposed candidates, and that this is the main thing. And that it is not important to have several candidates. It is, thus, more important, in that view, and closer to the essence of our system than to put forward several candidates for individual functions and the struggle between individuals as to who will get more votes, which is alien to our system. [passage as received]

Speaking about the method of voting for all the organs, Milos Minic said:

"Secret voting is a democratic institution wherever democratic relations prevail and it should, therefore, be also consistently applied in the LCY. Secret voting is the guarantee for a member of the League of Communists expressing his view in all elections in full freedom. This is a dam against pressures on any member of the League of Communists, which is not a rare phenomenon where secret voting does not exist. All the problems which could arise in connection with secret voting as regards the national, social and other structures are not problems of principle but practical questions which can very easily be resolved in every environment by relevant formulas and criteria."

Dealing with the dilemas connected with the method of verifying LCY Central Committee members, Minic expressed the view that the verification of the LCY Central Committee members, elected by League of Communists of the republics and provinces, should be carried out by secret voting and not by acclamation. I consider the present method of verification, he added, as not relevant to the role of the LCY and of the LCY Central Committee.

Let us presume, Minic cited as an example, that through my public work, or through some other action of mine, in various functions or duties in my republic or in the federation or while carrying out a task abroad, I have created mistrust among many members of the LCY in the republics and provinces and even among the majority of congress delegates -- regardless of my republic having elected me -- I would not be elected to the LCY Central Committee to advocate the interests of the League of Communists of my republic, but of the entire LCY in all its parts and in all its territories and environments of Yugoslavia. From this I draw the conclusion, the only principled, logical and the only democratic conclusion, that all congress delegates have the full right -- and nobody, not even the statute, has the right to deny them this right -- to decide in full freedom, without consideration of whether they will show me their trust or lack of confidence. This again is only possible by genuine secret voting in line with all the regulations of the secret voting procedure. If I do not obtain 51 percent of the votes of the congress delegates, my mandate is not and cannot be verified. In such a case my republic's duty is to elect somebody else as member of the LCY Central Committee.

This can be done only at the congress and if technical reasons do not allow it, it can be done by the Central Committee of the republic later and verified by the Yugoslav Central Committee, again by secret vote.

In Minic's words, every election is there for somebody to be elected as well as not to be elected. We have not become used to this, we have not got such a mentality in our country, but we must create these habits and we must create this democratic mentality. In Milos Minic's view, the statute should contain the right of a party member to refrain from voting. This is, he went on, a democratic right just as it is my right to vote for or against. The statute has no right to push me to make my view known when I wish to refrain for one reason or another from voting.

Minic gave full backing to the thesis in the commision's report and in Mikulic's report, that the role of the LCY Central Committee must be substantially strengthened and that the Presidium be reduced the the framework of its responsibilities as a politico-executive organ. At the end of his speech Minic also dealt with the question of the equality of Central Committee members in information media, in the press, on television and on the radio, a subject on which Kolj Siroka had spoken.

Shall we reconcile ourselves, Minic asked, with somebody having the right to carry the full text of individual Central Committee members' remarks while only, so to say, quoting the names of other Central Committee members who have taken part in a discussion?

Is that correct public information?

Are these newspapers or television a private press? I am conscious of the fact that in our information media strange things are happening. We have also spoken of this at the LCY Central Committee Presidium. I am free to propose that a debate be held on this here at the LCY Central Committee, that these questions be discussed very openly.

Is it possible to hold very major and important discussions on the country's crucial questions by only emphasizing the views of individual members and keeping silent about the views of other Central Committee members? I think that this is even a question of law, of the legal responsibility of information media for giving accurate information to the public, in particular from the highest forums.

"This does not only happen with Central Committee members, it also happens with the SFRY assembly, its chambers, assembly delegates, and so forth. All of us carefully read the press and I am among the very careful press readers. I maintain that there is no equality in information media, not even as regards the LCY Central Committee members. I do not want to go into the situation in the republics. Were I to speak about a republic, I would speak about this in the republic, I would have quite a lot to say there. All this also refers to delegates in our assemblies," Milos Minic said in conclusion.

With this session, we are in fact initiating a broader debate in the LCY, as well as outside it, on the directions, the character and the content of the changes and supplements of the LCY statute, Dobroslav Culafic, stressed, in summing up today's debate.

I propose, he said, that the Central Committee accept the report of the LCY Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions.

The report of the LCY Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions, Branko Mikulic's introductory report, which also contains the views of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on certain issues, and the debate held today should serve the LCY Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions as the basis for work in preparing the proposed changes and supplements to the LCY statute.

Following this, the Central Committee will adopt attitudes on all issues presented by the statutory commission and adopt the decision on setting in train the public debate on the proposed changes and supplements to the statute. The LCY Central Committee Presidium, in agreement with the LCY Commission, will establish the dates by which the proposed changes and supplements to the statute will be prepared and the public debate carried out.

All the views, assessments and proposals contained in the commission's report are not, or are not only, of a statutory character. We think, Culafic stressed, that they could also be used in preparing other documents for the 12th LCY Congress and in general in the debate on further LCY development. In the debate several suggestions have been made about regulating by statute Tito's initiative on collective work and responsibility. I would like to remind you, Culafic said, that the Central Committee has adopted conclusions on the implementation of this initiative by Tito and that these conclusions can be, as is known, changed only by the Central Committee. Therefore, the commission's attitude that the implementation of these conclusions be analyzed at a separate session of the Central Committee should be accepted and on that occasion the proposals on how some of these questions should be regulated by the LCY statutes should also be discussed.

As regards the proposal that the executive-political organs and the organs in general in the LCY be elected by secret voting, I think, Culafic said, that they should be accepted as one of the alternatives.

The attitude about basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists being dutybound and responsible to discuss those members who behave contrary to the policy of the League of Communists and contrary to the LCY attitudes on certain issues should also be included in the report.

In the same vein, the suggestions are acceptable to include in the text the provision that members of League of Communists organs are dutybound to inform on their work and on their observations of the social, economic and political situation and on the ideological tendencies in the League of Communists and outside it, and to initiate in this respect relevant debates and the adoption of attitudes. The question of providing information on the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium remains an open question. For, Culafic said, in the time up to the 12th LCY Congress it will be necessary to examine all the experiences of the Presidium's work as well as of the work of all LCY organs and leaderships. A discussion on the method of work of the Presidium has already been held on several occasions at the LCY Central Committee Presidium and further debate on this will, in all likelihood, demand that the standing order of the Presidium's work also be changed. I think, he noted, that on that occasion the question of the way the public is informed of the work of the Presidium should also be debated.

Membersof the LCY Central Committee adopted all the proposals presented by Dobroslav Culafic in summing up today's debate of several hours in connection with the report of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions of the League of Communists.

The Presidium informed the Central Committee in greater detail about the international aspects of the development of events in Poland. Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium spoke about this at the session.

It was noted that the LCY membership is following with deep concern the development of events in Poland, because since the introduction of martial law there are no signs which would indicate that conditions are being created for a way out of the crisis. The signs are that the crisis in Poland is becoming more and more exacerbated and deeper and that it is leading to tragic events.

This time too, at the session, the LCY standpoint was confirmed that resolving Poland's problems is an internal affair of that country, its working class and people, the PZPR and of all socialist and other democratic forces of Poland. It is they who are called upon to find, independently and without interference from any side whatsoever, the paths of strengthening the social role of the working class and the implementation of social reforms directed at the country's socialist development, in line with its specific conditions, and to ensure the curbing of those forces who want to disrupt and prevent the independent, free and democratic socialist development of Polish society.

It was stressed that the LCY, by proceeding from the consistent respect for the right of every country and its working class to choose its own path to socialism by supporting the policy of socialist democratic renewal of Polish society, which suits it, again expresses its firm conviction that the present crisis in Poland can be overcome only in conditions of the country's full sovereignty and independence. The conviction was also stressed that resolving the Polish crisis on these foundations is in the interests of preserving peace, in the interests of security and of relaxation of international tension in Europe and the world, and in the interests of the development of socialism as a world process.

At the end of the session Dzavid Nimani's resignation from the post of LCY Central Committee member was accepted.

KOSOVO COMMUNES DISCUSS 'PRESSURES ON CITIZENS'

AU232030 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Talks with the presidents of the assemblies of all the Kosovo communes were held at the Kosovo Assembly today. They dealt with the elimination of all the distortions which prevent more efficient implementation of the rule of law, agreements and accords, and with the negative occurrences affecting the political feeling of the working people and citizens.

Ilija Vakic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, in his introductory remarks stressed that a radical turnabout must be made in the work of these institutions. This implies direct responsibility and the removal of all those who hamper the implementation of the accords, laws, positions and conclusions and who do not contribute to the stabilization of the political and economic situation in the province.

It is unacceptable, Vakic said, that the assemblies and their organs should not deal with occurrences of various pressures on citizens and even physical attacks. He also expressed dissatisfaction with the manner of analyzing the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and he advocated the creation of an atmosphere which will prevent bullies and enemies from exerting pressure on non-Albanian people, thus sullying all the honest people in Kosovo before the Yugoslav public. Albanian comrades bear special responsibility for squaring accounts with them, Vakic said.

DISRUPTIVE INCIDENTS REPORTED IN KOSOVO

AU222144 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 81 p 4

[M. Antic report]

[Summary] Pristina -- The assessments of the political-security situation in Kosovo have been repeated many times, to the effect that it is improving but that the enemy continues its activities.

"It has been noticed in the past 10 days or so that the enemy is increasing his activities not only by writing and distributing slogans and pamphlets of a hostile nature, but also by taking certain actions which cause alarm and indignation of the people of the province.

The aim is clear: to exert pressure and to show that the enemies, although decimated, are still there."

At the beginning of the week, a report has "leaked" that the sign "Titova Mitrovica" was removed by unknown persons from the side of the road leading to the town from Rozaj. "Whoever did it -- the perpetrators have not yet been discovered -- touched something very sacred that the people here have and that they deservedly got through their common struggle: that their town was named for Tito.

"The two latest incidents at the student center in Pristina also had clear intentions: to provike the greatest possible number of students and to drag them into this dirty business and cause disorder."

On 9 December, a group of about 90 people, by behaving in a threatening manner, got a free lunch at the student canteen. They included a number of workers of the Kosovo building organization of Vucitrn working at a nearby site, who had staged a work stoppage a few days earlier.

"Disturbing public peace and order at the student center late in the evening on 10 December, as well as writing and distributing slogans and pamphlets in student dormitories are indications that despite all the measures and checks, the enemy is still active among the students.

"According to the assessments of the situation by sociopolitical structures at the university, the enemy has no chance to succeed in his intentions. This will not be allowed to happen at any price."

A plenum of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo on 21 December will make a proper appraisal of the political-security situation in Kosovo.

Commentary on Violence

AU211404 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 81 p 6

[V.M. report]

[Text] In its issue yesterday the Pristina newspaper JEDINSTVO carries a long commentary by Mirko Cupic entitled "Who Is Threatening?", which says that, despite a wide sociopolitical activity in suppressing counterrevolution and despite a considerable improvement of the political and security situation in the province, it cannot be said that this activity has been equally fruitful in all residential and work communities.

"What prompts this conclusion are the increasingly frequent disturbances of public order and peace in the Pristina student center, the threats to and beatings of peaceful citizens in Pec and other similar hostile excesses that have occurred in other communal centers also.

Does this mean that all the counterrevolutionary forces which have evidently changed their methods of activity and are now resorting to less noisy but no less dangerous threats to peace and security still have not been identified? How is it possible to explain the fact that, although only those young people whose moral and political fitness is guaranteed by the local communities and the sociopolitical structures concerned have been given accommodation in the student center, it is now evident that a number of residents of the university city does not deserve to live and study at the expense of the society against which it openly incites and which it openly threatens? Now when their moral and political fitness has failed its test, the question must be asked: What about the people who have vouched for their orientation in accordance with the LCY course with their signatures...? This situation leads to the conclusion that the ideological-political differentiation still has not been effectively carried out in some residential and work communities.

Hiding behind verbal statements and invocations of the conclusions of the highest state and party structures, the action program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and the [political] platform [for action of the LCY in developing socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo] is also not simultaneously a guarantee for someone's orientation in accordance with the LCY course if all that is not confirmed by a specific engagement in suppressing counterrevolution and stabilizing the political situation. It has happened quite often that the individuals spoke one thing but acted quite differently in practice. This duplicity is promoted by the opportunistic behavior which is apparent in some basic organizations of the League of Communists.

"The threats to and beatings of peaceful citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality confirm the fact that the most brutal methods have been used in irredentist activities," JEDINSTVO continues. "The acts of waiting for and then beating peaceful people with iron rods confirm the brutality of the organized rowdies who are miraculously succeeding in evading the organs protecting public order and peace."

As much as these and other similar acts of violence are causing unrest and concern among the Serbian and Montenegrin population, JEDINSTVO says in conclusion of its commentary, it must be known that all honest members of the Albanian nationality abhor these acts also. In this situation it is not only necessary to retain one's presence of mind but it is also necessary at all costs to insist on further deepening brotherhood and unity and togetherness. And that is simultaneously the best answer to and the greatest defeat for counterrevolutionaries and their instigators within the country and abroad.

KOSOVO INTRODUCES ELECTRICITY REDUCTION MEASURES

AU160904 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 81 p 14

[Text] Pristina, 11 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo discussed at its session yesterday chaired by Riza Sapundzija the electric power supply in the province and assessed that due to increased electricity consumption, it is necessary to take certain economy measures. For this reason the council decided that the first stage of reduction in electric power consumption be introduced.

At the same time it was proposed to all consumers that at the time of peak consumption, from 1700 to 2200 hours, they should use electricity as economically as possible so as to alleviate the current situation and to avoid the possibility of introducing the second stage of reduction.

ECONOMIC GROWTH PREDICTED FOR PRISTINA

LD161421 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0906 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Text] Pristina, 16 Dec (TANJUG) -- The gross domestic products of Pristina, capital of the Province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, is to go up at an annual rate of 12.3 percent by the end of 1985.

Under a draft economic development plan the City Assembly of Pristina adopted today, industry and mining will keep their main places in Pristina's economy, with special attention going to electric power industry.

Two newly-built 339-megawatt blocks of thermal power plants are expected to be put into operation in 1982. The republics and provinces will start building new thermal power plants in the area of Pristina.

The planned high growth rate of all economic branches in Pristina should make it possible to create 12,000 new jobs by the end of 1985.